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DISCOURSE

Concerning the

Use of Incense

In DIVINE OFFICES.

Wherein it is Proved, That that *Practice*, taken up in the *Middle Ages*, both by the *Eastern* and *Western Churches*, is, notwithstanding, an *Innovation* from the *Doctrine* of the *first* and *purest Churches*, and the *Traditions* derived from the *APOSTLES*.

Serving also to Evince, That even the *Consent* of *those Churches* of the *Middle Ages*, is no certain Argument, that even the *Particulars*, wherein they are supposed to *Consent*, were *faithfully* derived from the *APOSTLES*,

Against the modern Assertors of the *Infallibility* of *ORAL TRADITION*.

In a Letter to a Friend. *The Elder*

By HENRY DODWELL, M. A.

LONDON, Printed by J. Heptinstall, for James Holland at the Bible and Ball in S. Paul's Churchyard. 1711.

DISCOURSE

Concerning the

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LONDON, Printed by J. Sturges, at the Bible and Rosin in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1718.

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Part of the LETTER which
occasioned the following Discourse.

THE Church of England, the best Reformed, and of which I my self am a Member, has left off the Use of Incense, tho' practised in all Churches before our Quarrel with the Church of Rome. I wou'd therefore fain know what just Reasons She had, when She reformed, to lay it aside. I think I have good Cause to enquire, because I find that it was once commanded by God to his Church, and never since, that I know of, repeal'd. So far from that, that the Prophets foretell, that God shall be thus honour'd under the Gospel. For this see Isa. LX. 6. Mal. I. 11. Now that we may not think that what Esay says is to be mystically understood, but that is to be receiv'd in the literal Meaning, the Event proves. Which I believe you'll agree with me, in judging it the best way to come at the true Meaning of

Prophecies. For the First-fruits of the Gentiles did actually thus worship Christ. They did not only fall down before him as humble Suppliants; but, in Fact, offer'd to him Gold and Frankincense, Matth. II. And, tho' the Prophet would tempt one, by what follows, to think that he had his Mind set only on the Jewish Worship; and, by that, as being the best known to them he was addressing to, thought fit to describe the Christians, seeing that, after he had said, they shall bring Gold and Incense, and they shall shew forth the Praises of the Lord. (In the Septuagint Version, *καὶ τὸ σπέρμα Κουὶς δαύιδ ἀνίσταται.*) He adds: The Flocks, &c. shall come with Acceptance upon mine Altar. Tho' these last Words, I say, wou'd incline a Man to think that, being a Jew, he's describing the Christian Worship by what was practised among them; yet perhaps they need not be so strictly taken, and in such a sacrificial Sense, as that the Flesh of them shall be laid upon the Altar, with the Ceremonies usual upon such Occasions, by the Law of Moses; but may be translated in a more lax Sense, thus:
They

They shall be brought to mine Altar, i. e. the Christian Priest, as well as the Jewish, shall live by the Altar, and that very plenteously, by reason of the rich Offerings that shall then be offer'd by a very grateful People in the time of the Messiah, when the Gentiles shall willingly croud to my Altars, to do me their bounden Homage. And then, tho' he thus particularize, yet it is no more than what he said before the mention of Incense, That the convert Heathen Nations shou'd come and offer Gold; and afterwards, v. 9. The Isles shall bring their Silver and their Gold, which will be Rams and Flocks, and every thing. For Money, according to the common Saying, answers all things. And thus what the Prophet says of God, will be true, when he introduces him saying, I will glorify the house of my glory; as it is in the foremention'd Version: *וְגִלִּיתִי בְּבָיִתִּי וְעָלְתִּי עַל הָעֵלְבִית*. What was ever more expressly fulfill'd than this in the Primitive Times? When the People were bountiful to the Priesthood to excess, and truly made the Church the House of Prayer, as our Saviour calls

it, glorious by their liberal Presents in it, while they glorified God by paying him their bounden Service at his holy Altars? If the Words, Sir, can have this Meaning; then I think, there is nothing but what is very agreeable to the Worship of Christians. But, if you find it necessary to understand them in a pure Jewish Sense; Whether, or no, may not the Prophet Malachi, who is the last of the Prophets, to whom any thing of this nature was reveal'd, reasonably be supposed to have been inspired to describe fully and literally without any Jewish Mixture, what should be the Worship of God in the times of the Messiah, who tells us, That, from the rising of the Sun even to the going down of the same, God's Name shall be great among the Gentiles; and that, in every place, Incense shall be offer'd unto him, and a pure Offering. By the pure Offering here the Ancients understood a material Oblation (our Christian Sacrifice of Bread and Wine) and not contradicted, I suppose, by the learnedst of our Moderns. And, if so, Why should not the Incense here mention'd be material

100? Especially seeing our great High-priest
Rev. VII. 3; 4. the Messenger or Angel of
the Covenant, as Malachi calls him, is re-
presented by S. John as offering Incense in
the heavenly Places? Now, if our Worship
be, as it shou'd be, truly Divine; it is so
only as it represents what is done in Hea-
ven. And so his Priests on Earth, if they
will be true Representatives of him in Hea-
ven, shou'd do all things on Earth accor-
ding to the Example of the things in Hea-
ven, and serve him after that Pattern. The
Priest, sure, shou'd offer up the Prayers of
the People. And what other way, as a
Priest, has he to offer 'em up, but by offer-
ing the Incense on God's Altar? If he have
no other way of presenting the Prayers of the
Congregation, to his Father and theirs in
Heaven, but by way of verbal Petition, he
has no Privilege more than any other. They
can all do the same. And then what is
that in this Case, whereby we may perceive
he's doing a Priestly Act, such as distin-
guishes him to be what he is, and mani-
festly shew his separate, holy, and divine

Character? So special a part was this of the Priest's Office under the Old Economy, Exod. XXX. 7, 8, 9. Deut. XXXIII. 10. that when others presum'd upon this part of the Priestly Office, God signally punish'd their Pride and Folly, as we see Lev. X. 1, 2. And how well-pleasing that Priestly Act was to God, we have intimated to us by holy David, when he wishes his Prayer no better Success, than that it might be sent before God as Incense, Psal. CXLI. 2. To all this let me add, that it seems to be countenanced by all Religions, true or false. The very Heathens thus honour'd their Gods, as Virgil (we need to go no further) informs us, Eccl. VIII. l. 65. and Æn. VIII. l. 100. But, whether or no, in this, they were Mimicks of the Israelites, I won't determine; I leave that to you. And if, upon Enquiry, you find antient Heathen Authors mentioning it as us'd in Honour of their false Gods, before it was by the true God commanded to the Jews; then, I presume, we may conclude it not Levitical, so as to be peculiar to that Dispensation, but a Christian piece of Worship.

ship. Christian, I say, because practised, in all probability, by the Church of the first-born, commencing with the first Priest, Adam, who might receive it from God, amongst other things of that Positive Worship he instituted, which observing lapsed Man cou'd only have hope of obtaining Favour at God's Hands for the future; if not of use before, even in the time of Innocency, and from him continued to the Flood, and afterwards practised by Noah, and thence deduced into the Practice of all the Gentile Nations, as well as of God's People; among whom it was in use all along down to the time wherein it was ordered afresh to the Jewish Church, and has still held on its course, not dying with that Polity, uninterruptedly in the Christian Church, till the Reformation. All which I count but one and the same Church, differing only in some Circumstances of Positive Institution, according as the All-wise God saw it from time to time necessary, being they had the self-same Covenant, and the self-same Divine Worship, as a Requisite to apply that Covenant to Particulars, as, I believe,

lieve, will appear upon a wary Scrutiny. The Christian Sacrifice, by which the Priests of the Gospel atone for the Sins of the People, is consecrated Bread and Wine, according to his Command, of whom it was prophesied, that he should be a Priest after the Order of Melchisedec, a Priest of God among the Church of the First born, and who, meeting Abraham returning from his Victory over the five Christian Kings, offered the same Christian Gifts, and blessed him in the Name of the Lord. The very same was the Service of the Jews. For they had their Offerings of Bread and Wine. Not simply and alone, indeed; but accompanied with other Things and Circumstances, which have so obscured this Christian Service of theirs, as that it is scarcely taken notice of, and separated, as it ought to be; and as that, which was their Christian Service, as distinct from the other pompous Ceremonies, which are the Jewish Service. If the Covenant of Grace had been apply'd to Mankind all along by the same individual, material, things, tho' not alone; then why should we not think the Prayers of
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the People shou'd, by the Priest, be represented the same way, by a material Representation? And, if so, what will bid fairer; nay, what comes so well recommended to us for this end, as Incense? I have hinted, Sir, that perhaps this might have been of use in the time of Innocence. Even then, their Religion, not being purely moral, but having its positive Institutions. For why might not the Tree of Life be the Frankincense Tree, which might make their Bodies immortal, if not, by an innate Virtue which now it may have lost, but of which it retains so much yet, as, with other things to be used to keep dead Bodies from Corruption; yet, by way of Mystery, from which our first Parents were kept by a Guard of Angels, after they had eat the forbidden Fruit, which increased their fatal Knowledge, and capacitated them to distinguish between Good and Evil, who only before knew the Life of Gods, of which they were, in some degrees, Partakers, by being Immortal while they stood, and so free from Troubles, and Cares, and the Uncertainties that Mortality, and the Consequences
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of that, brought along with it. Which indeed was known to God (he's become like one of us, says the sacred Text, to distinguish betwixt Good and Evil) by his Prescience, but cou'd not by them, but by Experience. I make this bold Conjecture, Sir, from the Consideration, that the holy Perfume, which was to be put before the Testimony, was compounded of this in part, and the like forbidden to be made and smelt unto, by any one, upon pain of being cut off from his People. Which seems to point at the flaming Sword which turned every way to keep the Tree of Life. We have two remarkable Instances of the fulfilling of this tremendous Threatning in the Pentateuch: The one is the famous Story of Nadab and Abihu, who took either of them his Censor, and put Fire therein, and put Incense therein, and offer'd strange Fire before the Lord; for Punishment of which presumptuous Act, there went out Fire from the Lord, and devoured them, and they died before the Lord: The other is the dismal Account of the Destruction of the two hundred and fifty Korahites that offer'd Incense,

cense, by Fire also which came from the Lord. Which Fire, it may be, was Lightning from Heaven, emblematical of the true Fire from Heaven. I mean the Angel which came thence, and in the form of a flaming Sword, cut off our first Parents from all further Access to that Tree. It pleas'd God, after he had destroy'd the whole World, except Eight Persons, by a Flood of Waters, and had enter'd into a Covenant with Noah, never to do so again, to set his Bow in the Heavens for a Pledge of it, and so, all under one, oblige himself to Fidelity, and, by a lively Emblem, convey to Posterity the History of the Matter he made use of to revenge himself upon so wicked a Generation. For so I take the Bow lively to do, in that it requires, for the natural Production of it, falling Rain, which is the very same thing that put a Period to the old World of Sinners. And is it not as reasonable that the Memory of what the first Transgression depriv'd us of, shou'd be continued to Posterity by some religious Ceremony? If so, what bids fairer for it than the Sanction threatned to,
and

and the Punishment for, the meddling with
the holy Incense? The Tree is proper enough
to represent Immortality; and the Law, for
its Sacredness, fit enough to point out to us,
that this is it from which our first Parents
were kept, when they lost Immortality for
them and their Posterity, as well as to be a
Document, together with the other Ingredi-
ents, to learn the Jews, that, while their Dis-
pensation, they had only a Title to Immor-
tality in Reversion, till Christ shou'd come,
and bring it to light, and give to all that
embraced his Religion, the Spirit which
shou'd immortalize them to an Eternity of
Bliss, to which they had not then an actual
Title, I guess to be intimated to them in
that the holy Oyl, typical of the Unction from
above, was not allow'd to be pour'd upon
Man's Flesh. For all things of Ceremony in
the Church of the Jews were order'd with an
Eye to the Gospel. So that, as Incense is
of Use in embalming of dead Bodies, to
keep them from Putrefaction; so they were
not allow'd the common Use of the Sacred
Perfume, of which it was a part, to teach
them

them that they had yet no Right to Immortality, till Christ the First-fruits was rais'd from the Dead. As Blood, the Life of the Animal, was then prohibited, ever to learn them that they had no Right to Life before their Messiah shou'd spill his Blood, and lay down his Life a Ransom for them. And here let me ask you, from what better Source we can derive that prevailing Notion among the Pagans, of the Sacredness of Lightning, but this of the flaming Sword which God set about the Tree of Life, in shape, it may be, of a Flash of Lightning. The Poet Virgil brings in Jupiter confirming his Covenant by Lightning, thus: Qui foedera fulmina sancit. How well doth this resemble God Almighty's Proceedings against our first Parents, after the Breach of the Covenant they were engag'd to him in, who banish'd them Paradise, and, by his Angel, in form of a flaming Sword, cut 'em off from all possibility of Life, while he depriv'd 'em thereby from coming at that Tree, which alone was capable of continuing it to them? For, for Jupiter, sancire foedera fulmine, was

was meant, that if it was broke, he that prov'd false might expect Jupiter to revenge the Falsification of his Oath, by striking him dead with Lightning. The Bidental also, we know, was to be expiated by two Sheep of two Years old, and to be enclosed, and never more to be trod on. What can be more probably the Original of such a Custom, than God's making the Sacred Inclosure at the first unhappy Slip of our first Parents, and then being turn'd out of Paradise, and that which it was typical of, Heaven it self, and not to be admitted there till the shedding of the Blood of the Lamb which was without spot? This I think a probable Account why Lightning might be so sacred among the Heathens, if the Notion prevail'd before the Examples we have of God's taking Vengeance by Fire upon them who made a Breach upon the Covenant of the Priesthood God made to the House of Levi. I submit, Sir, this Conjecture to your Censure, which I only made en passant.

A D I S.

A
DISCOURSE
Concerning the USE of
INCENSE
IN
Divine Offices.

HONOURED SIR,

THE Passage of *Isai. LX. 6.* quoted by you for the Use of *Frankincense* in relation to the Gospel, does indeed, in the *Prophetical* Sense, relate to the Gospel: And you have rightly referred it to the Oblation of the *Wise-men S. Matth. II. 11.* as the *Fathers* have generally done. In the *Literal* Sense it implied their owning *Subjection*, as bringing I. The Incense mentioned *Is. LX. 6.* tho it relate to the Frankincense offered to our Saviour by the Wisemen; was after-
yet cannot be a Precedent for the burning Incense, which was afterwards introduced in the later Ages.

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ing Gifts was an Acknowledgment of Duty, *Is. X. 27.* And as the Gifts of Subjects were generally the Growth of their own Country, *2 Kings III. 4.* so Frankincense is very properly ascribed to the Sabeans in *Arabia Felix*, which was famous for its *Regio αβαροφορ*, as it was also for its *συμφορ*. And Myrrh also is added by *S. Matthew*. Yet this offering of Frankincense to our Lord is taken by the Fathers for an Argument that the Wise-men owned him for a God. So it might have been, if it had been offered to him, not as a Gift, but as a Sacrifice. But that would have required its being offered, not out of their Treasures, but their Censers, and its being burnt. The offering them as Gifts cannot imply Divine Honour, unless we will suppose that to have been the Design of the Queen of Sheba, in the *απαρχή* by her bestowed on King Solomon, *1 King. X. 10.* The Hebrew Word answering it there is also, by the Greek Interpreters rendered *συνάμματα* offered on the *θυμιατήριον*. And the Greek Word *ἀρωμα* is by many derived from its Use in the *ἀρωμα*, their solemn Prayers. It might have been more natural to have interpreted it as an Act of Divine Worship, if it had been presented by any else rather than by these whose natural Growth it was. Then, if it

it had been got *purposely*, it might have been thought *intended* for the Use it was usually put to by *other Nations*. But being the *next* thing that came to *hand*, it was easily interpretable as an owning him as a *Lord of the Country* of which that Commodity was the *proper* Product. So it must have been in the *Psalms*, which in the primary *literal* Sense related to *Solomon*, that the Kings of *Arabia* and *Saba* should bring him Gifts, among which *Frankincense* most probably was one, as the Queen of *Sheba* seems most probably to have been one of those *Princes* who were concerned in the *literal* Accomplishment of the Prophecy as it related to *Solomon*. Yet, even in regard of our *Saviour*, *Incense* was *not* improper to have been *burned* to him, as an Acknowledgment of his *Divinity*, by the known and allowed Opinions of that Age, though it had no *further* Prospect on the *Practice* of the Professors of the *New Religion* afterwards introduced by *himself*. It had been received *universally*, among the *Heathens*, such as the *Wise-men* were, and *allowed* and *practised* by the *Jews*, by the Approbation of *God* himself, not as *yet repealed* in the Opinion of *any*, whatever is to be thought of it *afterwards*. And being fitted to the *present* State of things, it cannot be made a *Precedent* for what is to

Incensing no Apostolical Tradition.

be done *now*, since the *Change* made by the *Alterations* of the *Gospel*, tho' the *Frankincense* had been *sacrificed* as well as *of-fered*. The *Persons* concerned in it, had no *Power* to make the *Change* that was *afterwards* made by our Lord himself; but were most *secure* in conforming to the *Customs* then *allowed*, and might *then* have been guilty of *Sin* in taking the *Liberty* which was *afterwards* introduced by a *better Authority*. They would certainly have been so *then*, who had reckoned on their *Sins* as *expiated* by *moral Duties* without the *Trespass Offering* then prescribed by *God* himself.

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By the
Name of
Incense,
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to under-
stand lite-
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cense, but
the mysti-
cal In-
cense of
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may as
well be un-
derstood
by it.

It may therefore be no more but a *Pro-phetcy* of the *moral Worship* introduced by the *Gospel* under *Symbols*, which were to be continued *no* longer than that *present Dispensation* under which the *Prophecy* was made, which was to be expressed by *Symbols* intelligible *then*, but was to mean the *mystical Antitypes* that were to answer those *Symbols* under the *Gospel*; yet so, as that the *mystical Antitypes*, answering them under the *Gospel*, were neither then *known*, nor *intended* to be *known*, till they were introduced by our *Saviour's* new *Institution*. So the *Antitype* answering the *Salvation* of *Noah*, in the *Deluge*, was not to be answered by another *Deluge*, under the *Gospel*,

Incensing no Apostolical Tradition

Gospel, as its *Antitype*, but by our *Christian Baptism*, 1 S. Pet. III. 21. So the *Incense* under the *Law*, would not represent *Incense* under the *Gospel*, but the *moral Duty* of our *Prayers*, which were under the *Gospel*, to *ascend* up to *Heaven*, as the *Incense* did, according to the *Expression* of *David*. And your own judicious *Observation* concerning *Cattle* being to be offered on the *Altar*, Isa. LX. 7. is very pertinent to this Purpose. For *Cattle* were never offered on the *Altar* under the *Gospel*, even in those times, when *Incense* was so. They have indeed been given, as you Prudently observe, to those who were to live by the *Altar*. But, as to the Circumstance of offering at the *Altar*, the *Canons*, commonly called *Apostolical*, make a difference. I give you the Words, because you want the Books: *Can. γ'. Εἴ τις ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ πρεσβύτερος, ὡς πλὴν τοῦ Κυρίου ἀγάταξιν πλὴν ἐπὶ τῇ θυσίᾳ, πρεσβύτη ἐπεὶ πῶς ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιάζειον (ἢ μέλι, ἢ γάλα, ἢ, ἀντὶ οἴνου, σίκερα, ἢ ἐπιπιδύτα, ἢ ὀρνεις, ἢ ζῶα πῶς, ἢ ὄσπρια,) ὡς ὡς πλὴν διάταξιν Κυρίου παιῶν καθαρεύων, πλὴν νέων χύδρων, ἢ σαφυλῆς, τῷ καιρῷ τῷ δεόντι. Μὴ ἔχον ὃ ἔστω προσάγεσθαι πῶς ἐπὶ τῷ θυσιάζειον, ἢ ἔλαγον εἰς πλὴν λυχνίαν, καὶ θυμίαμα τῷ καιρῷ τῷ ἁγίᾳ προσφορὰς. δ'. Ἡ ἄλλη πάντα ὅπως εἰς οἶκον ἀποσελλέω ἀπαρχὴ τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, ἀλλὰ μὴ*

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πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον. Δῆλον ὅτι ὁ ἐπίσκοπος καὶ
 οἱ πρεσβύτεροι ἐπιμερίζουσι τοῖς δακτύλοις καὶ τοῖς
 λοιποῖς κληρικῶσι. *Can. 3.* "If any Bishop or
 " Presbyter, contrary to the Command of
 " the Lord, relating to Sacrifice, offer o-
 " ther things at the Altar, (either Honey,
 " or Milk, or Sider instead of Wine, or
 " artificial Compositions of the *Consecra-*
 " *tion*, or Birds, or Animals, or any kind
 " of coddled Fruits of the Earth contained
 " under the Greek ὄσπρια, or the Latin *Le-*
 " *gumina*) let him be deprived, as acting
 " contrary to the Command of the Lord.
 " Excepting new Corn or Grapes at the
 " appointed Season [that of the Oblation
 " of the First-fruits.] But let it not be al-
 " lowed to offer any thing at the Altar,
 " but Oyl for the Lamps, and Incense at
 " the time of the holy Oblation. *Can. 4.*
 " Let all the Remainder of the Autumnal
 " Fruits be sent home, that is, the First-
 " fruits of it, to the Bishop and to the
 " Presbyters; but let it not be offered at
 " the Altar. But it is manifest that the
 " Bishop and the Presbyters are to distri-
 " bute it to the Deacons and to the rest
 " of the inferior Clergy.

3.

The Cattle
 mentioned
 by the Pro-
 phet, together with the Incense, could not, even by the later Canons, be
 offered at the Altar as the Incense was.

You see here that none of those Obla-
 tions which were designed for the Mainte-
 nance of those who served at the Altar,
 were

were to be offered at the Altar, but only those which were made use of in the Holy Offices themselves that were performed at the Altar. So the *First-fruits* of the *Feræ Messinæ* and *Vindemiales* were offered to God solemnly in the *Places of Publick Worship*, but thereby consecrated the whole *Harvest* and *Vintage* without the like Solemnity of *Oblation*. So the *Oyl* was given for the Use of the holy *Lamps*, which were kept burning on the *Altar*, at the Celebration of the *Eucharistical Sacrifice*. Of which Custom we have an early Instance in the time of *Narcissus* Bishop of *Jernsalem*, in *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. VI. 9*. And though the *Sicera*, and *Wine*, are usually joined together, as belonging to the same part of *Autumn*, yet *Wine* only is prescribed to be presented at the *Altar*, because *Wine*, not *Sider*, was made use of in the *Eucharist*. As for the *Cœna* that were given to the *Clergy*, you see they are so far from being laid on the *Altar*, that they are forbidden to be presented at it, but are ordered to be carried home to the *Houses* of those who were appointed to receive them. So that as this Instance of yours, of the *Animals*, was not literally received under the *Gospel*, so neither can it be concluded that the *Frankincense* joined with it in the same Place, was, by the Reasoning from this

Place of the Prophet, intended to be so, whatever the Sense of the Author of the *Constitutions* might be concerning it.

4.

The Passage of Mal. I. II. more plausible to the Purpose of continuing Incense under the Gospel: Especially if the Canons, called Apostolical, had been genuine.

Your other Text from *Malach. I. II.* seems to me much more apposite to your Purpose. The *Incense* there is by the Greek Interpreters called *ὑψίλαμα*, which is the Word by which they render the same *Hebrew* Word in several other Places. And it signifies not only the *Frankincense* it self as a Gift, but as a *sacrificial Oblation*. For it is not called *ὑψίλαμα*, but as *burnt* and *offered* on the *ὑψιστήριον*, as the *Sacrifices* were on the *ὑψιστήριον*, that is, at the *Golden Altar*, with the *Jews*, and in *sacrificial Censers*. And it is *burnt*, as well as *offered*, at present, in both the great Bodies of the *Eastern*, as well as the *Western*, Church. Nor is it here clogged, as in the other Place, with any thing that might seem proper to the *Jews*. The *Sacrifice* joined with it is not *Zebach*, that which is killed, but *Mincha*, the *Meat Offering*, the proper *Mola*, from whence the Word *Immolation* is derived, not improperly applicable to our Christian *Eucharist*. That is also implied in its being called a *pure Oblation*, an *unbloody Sacrifice*. That is the Importance of the Word *pure*. *Cena pura* in *Apuleius's Asclepius*, is that which is *sine animalibus*. So also in *Plutarch, de esu car-*
nium.

nium. So also in *Philo*, a pure diet is that which is *sine cruentis dapibus*, de vit. contempl. This fits our *Christian Eucharist* very properly, as it is commonly by the Fathers stiled an *unbloody Sacrifice*. The Extent also of this Prophecy $\alpha\omega' \alpha\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\lambda\omega\nu \epsilon\omega\varsigma \delta\upsilon\sigma\mu\omega\nu$, and $\epsilon\nu \pi\alpha\rho\tau\iota \tau\omicron\upsilon\pi\omega$, and $\epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \epsilon\delta\upsilon\epsilon\sigma\iota$, from the rising of the Sun unto the going down of the same, &c. and in every place among the Gentiles, shews it to have been designed further than the Jews, or their Proselytes in the $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\omega\rho\epsilon\acute{\alpha}$. Indeed the $\epsilon\delta\upsilon\eta$ here seem to be opposed to that one Nation to which that old *Peculium* was then confined. Withall its Conjunction with the *Eucharist* answers exactly the present Practice described even in the *Apostolical Canons* now recited, where the $\delta\upsilon\mu\lambda\alpha\mu\alpha$ is said to be $\epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\varsigma \chi\epsilon\iota\rho\epsilon\varsigma \tau\omicron\varsigma \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\alpha\varsigma \pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\phi\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. This would go far if these *Canons* were as ancient as they are conceived to be, even by Bishop *Beveridge* and *de Marca*. But for my part, I take them for Part of the pretended *Apostolical Constitutions*, of which they make the last Chapter. I doubt not but that the *Collector* has inserted many things in his Work out of more antient Authors which either were, or were taken for, *Apostolical*. But it is hard to distinguish them without other Evidence. Nor do I therefore think it safe to Reason from them

them where such other independent Evidence does not appear. And I am apt to think that many things in it were so far beyond the Age of the Collector, that himself might think he had Reason to take them for really Apostolical, as descending from immemorial Tradition, according to the Presumptive Reasonings of S. Augustine and S. Jerom ad Lucinium. Those Presumptive Reasons, however well intended for promoting a Reverence and Acquiescence in present received Customs, yet I cannot take them sufficient to assure of the Facts.

5. Tertullian mentions the Use of Frankincense among the Christians: Yet not in Incense, but in Burials.

But for the first three Centuries, Tertullian is the first that mentions the Use of Frankincense as to the Sense of the Christians. It was objected against the Christians, that they were hurtful to the Commonwealth in hindring the Consumption of so profitable a Commodity. To this he answers: *Si Arabia queruntur, sciant Sabæi pluris & carioris suas merces Christianis sepe- liendis profligari, quam Dias fumigandis.* "If the Arabians complain, be it known to the Sabæans, that their Wares are purchased at a greater Price, and a dearer Rate, for burying Christians, than for perfuming the Gods. *Apolog. cap. 42.* The Use of it in Burial is all that he acknowledges among Christians. And this opposed to Fumigation. And certainly, in relation

relation to the God of the *Christians*, as well as those of the *Heathens*. For the Objection could have had no place, if the *Christians* had worshipped their own God with *Incense* as the *Heathens* did. That had made the same *Consumption* of the Commodity, and served the Ends of the *Merchants*, as much as if it had been bestowed on the *Heathen* Gods. But the Use of it in *Burials* was not by way of *Fumigation*, but as an Ingredient in the *Ointment*, with which it was the Custom to anoint their deceased *Friends*. This was the Custom among the *Romans* before they had received the Custom of burning their dead Bodies. So *Ennius*: *Tarquinius corpus bona semina lavit & unxit*. So much more among the *Jews* and *Christians*, who never received the later Custom of burning. The way received among the *Jews* is described by *S. John* in the Case of our Saviour: *Ἐλαβον ἕν τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, καὶ ἔδαζον αὐτὸ ὀσμίοις καὶ ῥύτις ἀρωματῶν, καὶ δέδωκεν ἡμεῖς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐνταφιάζειν. XIX. 40.* So our Blessed Lord interprets the anointing of his Feet as performed *εἰς ἐνταφιασμόν*, *S. Mark XIV. 8. S. Mat. XXVI. 12. S. John XII. 7.* This being practised on our Saviour, was sufficient to recommend it to the Practice of the *Christians* afterwards, in Persons of the greatest Example, and who came nearest

Vid. Plin.
Nat. Hist.
XIII. 1,
2, 3.

est to the Patern of our Lord, as bearing in their Bodies the dyings of the Lord Jesus; that is, on Martyrs. And very probably Tertullian meant it of them. For it was not the Custom to deal so with ordinary Persons. Dorcas is said only to have been washed, without any mention of her being anointed, though otherwise a very excellent Person. And this seems to have made the Heathen Persecutors, in the Case of Polycarp and others, even before the time of Tertullian, so very solicitous, that no Reliques of the Martyrs might fall into the hands of the Christians, as envying them the Honours that were then done to them. On this Account Tertullian might well say that the Sabæan Wares were dearer and more expensive than were bestowed on these Christian Burials, than what was laid out on the Heathen Fumigations. The Christian Funerals not being of Frankincense alone, but of rich Compositions of several of the most chargeable Arabian Spices. So it appeared in the great Price at which the Ointment was valued which was bestowed on our Saviour. Besides, a greater Quantity was requisite for anointing a whole Body, to be bound up in the ὀδύνα, than would have sufficed for Fumigation. However, by this Passage of Tertullian it seems clear, that the Use of Incense, or
any

any other Spices, in *Fumigation*, was not received by the *Christians*. That which he mentions as *practised* by them in their *Funerals*, is not, as afterwards, any *Incense*, but *Unction* of a *compounded* Nature, of several Spices, the Work of the *Confeſſioner*.

If therefore this was true in Fact in the time of *Tertullian*, it will thence follow, that this Custom of *Incensing*, how universally soever received afterwards, could not have descended down from the *Apostles*, but must be ascribed to the *Reasonings* of later Ages. Nor can I find that it was practised by the *Essenes*, (from whom, I confess, many Practices of the like indifferent nature to have been derived to our *Primitive Christian* Ancestors) however otherwise *averse* to the *bloody Sacrifices* received among the *Jews*, by *Divine* Approbation. Nor can I find that it was allowed by God in any Worship but that of the *Temple*. Which seems to be the Reason why it was *discontinued* upon the Destruction of the *Temple*, to which it was confined. Withall the *Composition* of it was prescribed *Exod. XXX.* And it was prohibited to private Persons, *ver. 37, 38.* Excepting the *Levitical Priests*, who were not to use it any where but in the Place prescribed for their Publick solemn *Assemblies*.

This

6.

This Practice of Incensing could not have been continued to the Times of Christianity by any Authority of the Old Law, nor of the Apostolical Ages.

This made it *unlawful* for any *Christian*, who was *not* a *Levitical Priest*, to offer it. And being offered in the *Temple*, no *Christians*, but they who were *Jews* by *Nation*, or *Profelytes* of *Justice*, could communicate in it. It could *not* therefore be continued on the *Legislation* of the *Old Peculium*. If therefore it had been *continued*, it must have been by a *new Legislation* of the *Authority* of the *Gospel*, authorizing those *Christian Priests* to offer it who were *not* sufficiently *impowered* to do so by the *old Legislation*. This *Authority* could, in the *Apostles Age*, be no other but that of the *Church of Jerusalem*, before the *Settlement* of the *Ordinary Government*, which was to be *perpetuated* in the *Episcopal Form*. None *else* could *repeal* the *Old Law* in this *Particular*, which made *Christian Priests*, who were *not Jews* by *Nation*, *uncapable* of such *Ministrations*, so as to secure *Uniformity* in it, that *Gentile Christian Priests*, in all *particular Churches*, should be *qualified* for it. Nor had *particular Churches*, during their *Dependence* on the *Church of Jerusalem*, *Authority* sufficient to *oblige* themselves to a *Practice* *contrary* to a *former Divine Law*, not yet *repealed* by an *equally Divine Authority*, which *particular Churches* could not then pretend to. If therefore the *Apostles* had

had permitted the *Discontinuance* of the Practice of *Incensing* from the Destruction of the *Temple* till their investing *Bishops* with all that part of their *Ordinary Power* which was necessary to be continued for the Management of the Government of their respective *Churches* for future *Ages*, without *Dependence* on the *Church* of *Jerusalem*, or any other the like particular *Church*; such *Bishops* might then have retrieved this antiquated Practice for their *own Bodies*, but no further. And it must have been very difficult, in that Case, for the common *College* of *Bishops* to have acted *unanimously*, when there was neither common *necessitating* in a Case of so *indifferent* Nature, nor any common *coercive* Power over the *whole Episcopal College*, that could *oblige* them to act *unanimously* in this Matter. Nor can I find that it was ever used in the *Synagogue Worship* of the *Church* of the *Jews*, which was the only *Jewish Precedent* that could influence our *Christian Ancestors* that were *Jews*, and not cast out of the *Synagogue*, by the Authority of the *Archisynagogues*, after the Destruction of the *Temple*, and the *Unpracticableness* of that part of the *then* received *Jewish Worship* which depended on the *Temple*, and could not be performed acceptably any where else but in the *Temple*.

Your

7.
Incense
too late to
be a Law
of Nature
or of Na-
tions.

Your Conjecture that the *Tree of Life* was that of *Frankincense*, looks at the first sight *ingenious* as a *Conjecture*, but is too destitute of *Historical Evidence*, to make it safe to reckon on it as a *Matter of Fact*. The Use of *Frankincense*, as an *Aroma*, is only to preserve *dead Bodies* from *Corruption* by external Application; but not, by way of *Nutrimment*, to secure *living Bodies* from *Death*, till which the Use of *Frankincense* observed by you is *unseasonable*. Nor is there the least Intimation of any *Sacrifice* in *Paradise*, no nor of *Fire*, much less of *Frankincense burnt*, which is the only Title it can have to the Name of *Incense*. Nor is there any the least *mention* of it in the *Antediluvian* World. No, nor in the *Postdiluvian*, till the Law of *Moses*: So far it is from having obtained as a *Law of Nations* or *Nature*, before *Writing*, which *might* have been imposed by *God* upon all *Nations*, though the *Positive* Legislation cannot *now* be proved for want of *Writing*. Much less does there appear any *Oral Tradition* of a *Law* for it, either from the *Fall*, or from the *Deluge*. It could not indeed be *universally* used till *Arabia Felix*, where it only grew, was *universally* known, and till *Trade* was *universally* settled with *Arabia* for this particular *Commodity*. And this Settlement of
Trade

Trade requires a greater *distance* from *Originals* than could be able to give any satisfactory Account of *original Traditions*. The *Epocha* of the *ἑκαστοῦ*, which is made the *Original* of *Merchandise*, is, by the *Philosophers*, made *later* than that of the *ἑκαστοῦ*, the Age of their *Heroes*, or the *Ἀρχαῖοι* of the *first Men*, which were then *worshipped* as their *Popular Gods*. They reckoned it as proper to the *last* Age of Degeneracy, the *Iron Age*, when Men were so far departed from that *Primitive Simplicity* of Living, as not to be contented with the *native* Products of their *own* Countries. And the *Luxury* must have been far *advanced* when the Hazards of *Navigation* were undertaken, not for *Necessaries* only, but *Pleasure*, which must have been the Use of these *Spices* before they were applied to the *Uses* of *Religion*. These several Gradations must have made the Use of *Incense* later than those *positive* Laws imposed by *God* on *Mankind*, which are too *antient* to be *communicated* by *Writing*, and therefore cannot be reckoned among *them*, nor to have that *divine* Sanction intended for *all Nations*, as being for the *common Interest* of them *all*, which may justly be presumed in them, which, however *positive*, and intended for *all* at first, cannot *now* be *proved* so from the

C

Words

Words wherein they were at first conceived, for that only Reason, because they were given before the Invention of Letters.

8. But you desire to know whether the Gentiles had not the Use of Incense from the Jews? or whether they had it not before the Jews themselves? Presuming that if it were *antienter* among the Gentiles, or, that if they did not receive it from the Jews, it was not Levitical, nor intended for the Jews alone, and therefore may be still obliging. This might have had some Pretence, if Incense had been *antienter* than Writing, or of a Nature that must have been from the Beginning, as concerning the Interest of the first and most innocent Ages, when the Traditions of all civilized Nations are agreed, that God was more familiar in his Conversation with Mankind, than he has been since. But this I have now disproved. Arnobius makes the Worship by Incense *novellam rem* later than the Heroick Times. Later than the Alban Kings. Later than even Romulus and Numa, Lib. VII. What Customs were taken up among other Nations since God has been pleased to declare that he had pitched on the Nation of the Jews for his own Peculium, are, for that very Reason, to be presumed not to be from the Legislation of the Supreme

The Jews, in all likelihood, had the Use of Incense before the Greeks. Yet it is not probable that the Greeks derived that Practice from the Jews, but from the Phœnicians.

Supreme Being, who, from that time forward till the Gospel, undertook the Office of a *Lawmaker* for none but his *own* chosen People *Israel*. But the *Heathen* Monuments that are creditable, are much *later* than the time of *Moses*, as has been abundantly proved by the *Primitive Christian Apologists*. And the *Jews* must, in all likelihood, have had the Use of *Incense* before the learned *Heathen Nations*, (who can pretend to *credible* Monuments) as lying *nearer* to *Arabia*, where the Materials of *Incense* grew naturally. They might therefore have them *before* the Invention of *Navigation*, by *Land Carriage*. Others could *not* have it *universally* till even *that* was considerably *improved*, by which those Wares might come to be *universally valued* as well as *known*. Yet, though the *Jews* might have the Use of *Frankincense* before the *Greeks*, I do not therefore think that the *Greeks* received it from the *Jews*, but from the *Phœnicians*. The *Jews* being an *Inland* People, were therefore for a long time utterly *unknown* to them, as appears by the Dispute of *Josephus* against *Apion*, on that very Subject. But the *Phœnicians*, especially the *Tyrians*, are famous on account of their *Traffick* and *Commerce*, not only among the *Greeks*, but our *Sacred* Writers themselves, with whom the Name

of *Canaanite* signifies a Merchant, as that of *Arabian* does a Robber; Trading being as natural to those as Robbing was to the others.

9.
The Words
of Por-
phyry, out
of Theo-
phrastus,
concerning
the late
Use of In-
cense.

But if we may trust the still remaining Monuments of things so antient, the Use of Incense is really not so antient as you conceive it to be. The best Historical Account of this Matter that Eusebius knew of (*Præp. Ev. l. i. c. 9. Theodoret Ther. VII.*) is that of Porphyry from Theophrastus, both of them admirably learned Authors in their respective Ages. I give you the Words of Porphyry, because you complain of want of Books, which it is pity you should want, being so able to use them to good Purpose, if you had them. The Words of Porphyry L. II. de Abstin. §. 5. are these:

Ἀνάελεθμός τις ἔοικεν εἰς χερόν, ἀφ' ἧς τόγος πάντων λογώτατον γή, ὡς φησι Θεόφραστος, καὶ τὴν ἱερωταίῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ Νείλου κλιθεῖν χώραν καλοῖκεν ἥρξατο πρῶτον ἀφ' ἑξίας τοῖς ἑραινίοις θεοῖς δύνειν, ἐς σμύρνης, ἐδὲ ἡσίας καὶ λιβανωτῆς κρόκῳ μυχθέντων ἀπαρχὰς (πολλὰς γὰρ ἡγεῖται ὑστερον παρελήφθη καὶ ταῦτα πλάνης κλιμακίῃ, ὅτε ἀνθρώπου γινόμενον τὸ ἀναγκαῖον ζωῆς μὲν πολλῶν πόρων καὶ δακρύων, σαρόνας τέτων ἀπὸρξατο τοῖς θεοῖς) ἐς τέτων ἔδουε πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ χλόης οἷον εἰ [1. οἶον] πινα τὸ γόνιμον φύσεως ἡνὲν τὸ χερσὶν ἀράμμοι. Δένδρα μὲν γὰρ δὴ πρὸ ζώων ἀνέδωκεν ἡ γῆ τῶν δένδρων καὶ πολὺ πρῶτον

ὁθεν πλὴν ἐπέτειον ἡγνωμύλῳ [ἡγνωμύλη] πᾶν,
 ἥς δρεπόμυλοι φύλλα, καὶ ῥίζας, καὶ τὰς ὅλκας τῆς
 φύσεως αὐτῆς βλαστὰς, κατέκαον, ταύτην τὰς φη-
 νομύλας ἑρανεὺς δεξιόμυλοι, καὶ Δεξιὰ τε πρὸς
 ἀπαθανατίζοντες αὐτῆς τὰς πηγὰς. Τέτοις γὰρ καὶ
 τὸ πῦρ ἀθάνατον φυλάττομεν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς, ὃν
 μέγιστα αὐτοῖς ὁμοιώτατον. Ἐκ δὲ τῆς θυμιάσεως
 τῆς ἀπὸ γῆς θυμιατῆρα τε ἐκάλουν, καὶ τὸ θυεῖν,
 καὶ θυσίαις, ἃ δὴ ἡμεῖς ὡς τὴν ὑσέραν πλημμέλειαν
 ἐκβαίνοντα ἐκ ὁρῶνς ἐξακρόμεν, πλὴν Δεξιὰ τῆς
 ζώων δοκῆς θεραπείαν καλεῖντες θυσίαν. Το-
 σούτων δὲ τοῖς παλαγοῖς τε μὴ παρβαίνειν τὸ εἶθον
 ἐμελεν, ὡς καὶ τῆς ἐκλειπόντων τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐπει-
 σαγαγόντων δὲ ἑτέρων, ἀρασμαμύλας, ἀρώματα τὰ
 θυμιάμενα νῦν παροσκόρουσαι. Πλὴν δὲ ἀρχαι-
 ότητα τῆς εἰρημύων θυμιαμάτων καλῶντι τις ἂν
 ὀπβλέψας, ὅτι πολλοὶ καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ θυσοὶ συσκευα-
 σμύλα τῆς ὁσώδων ξύλων πινά. Ὅθεν μὲν τὸ ἐξ
 ἀρχῆς πύας δειδροφύσεως ἦδη τὴν γῆν, καὶ πρώτης
 δρυὸς καρποφαγήσαντες, τὴν μὲν τροφὴν Δεξιὰ πλὴν
 σπαίνιν, μικρὰ, τῆς δὲ φύλλων αὐτοῖς πλείω τοῖς
 θεοῖς εἰς τὰς θυσίας ἀνῆπτον. Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ὁ
 βίβλος ὅτι πλὴν ἡμερον ἦδη τροφὴν μετὰ βαίνων, καὶ
 δύματτα ἐκ τῆς καρύων, ἅλκας δρυὸς ἔφη. "It

" seems to be a distance of Time beyond
 " Computation, since the most reasonable
 " sort of Men which inhabited that most
 " holy Country, which was made by
 " the Mud of the Inundations of Nile
 " [that is, Delta] began, as Theophrastus
 " tells us, first to sacrifice to the Hea-
 " venly

“venly Gods, from their own Household
 “Fires, not First-fruits of Myrrh, or Ca-
 “sia, and Frankincense mixed with Saf-
 “fron. For these Things were received
 “many Generations after, by a Gradation
 “of Error, when Man obtaining the Ne-
 “cessaries for his Support with many La-
 “bours and Tears, offered the Distillati-
 “ons of these Things as Offerings to the
 “Gods. He did not sacrifice Oblations
 “of these Things formerly, but of Grass,
 “cropping with his Hands the Down, as
 “it were, of prolifick Nature. For the
 “Ground bore Trees before Animals, be-
 “getting also the yearly Harvest of Grass
 “long before the Trees. Of which they
 “reaped the Leaves and Roots, and burnt
 “whole Plants of the same Nature with
 “these Loppings, entertaining, in this
 “manner, those Gods which appear in
 “Heaven, and immortalizing these Gifts
 “in Honour of them by Fire. For it is
 “to these Heavenly Gods that we keep
 “an immortal Fire in their Temples, as
 “being most like to themselves. But it
 “was from this Incensing of the Products
 “of the Earth that they gave the Name
 “of *Thymiateria* to the Vessels in which
 “the Incensing was performed, and of
 “*ῥύον* to the Action of Sacrificing that
 “sort of Incense, and of *ῥύον* to the
 “Incense

“ Incense that was sacrificed. Yet these
“ Things, when, at last, they ended in
“ the later degrees of Disrespect, we do
“ not rightly understand, in giving the
“ Name of *θυσία* to the pretended Wor-
“ ship of sacrificing Animals. But the
“ Antients were so sollicitous that the Cu-
“ stom then received should not be trans-
“ gressed, that they imprecated Curses a-
“ gainst those who gave over the old Pra-
“ ctice, and introduced the new, from
“ which Curses it came to pass that the
“ Incenses now in use were called *Αρωμα-
“ τα*. But any one may discover the Anti-
“ quity of the now mentioned *Thymiamata*,
“ if he observe that many, even yet
“ sacrifice cut Pieces of sweet scenting
“ sorts of Wood. Thence it is, that when
“ the Earth, after Grass, bore Trees, and
“ that Men fed on the Fruits of the first
“ Oak; they then burnt in their Sacri-
“ fices to the Gods, for the greatest part,
“ Leaves, yet but little of that which was
“ their Food, the Acorns, because of the
“ Scarcity of them then. But afterwards,
“ as their Diet grew more civil, they sa-
“ crificed of Nuts also, saying when they
“ did so, *Enough of the Oak*. Thence that
“ Saying became Proverbial.” In that
whole Discourse those two great Men make
the *Sacrifices* answer the *Diet* of the Sa-
crificers,

crificers, which, from more *simple* and *natural*, grew, by *degrees*, to more exquisite and luxurious and *artificial*. That is, his ἡμερῶν βίῳ, as βίῳ is also taken by *Dicaarchus* (who was Fellow Disciple to *Theophrastus* under *Aristotle*) in his βίῳ Ἑλληνιστῶν. The first Food was of the Growth of the *Earth* it self, crop'd off with their *Hands* before they had the Use of *Iron Instruments* for *digging* and *cutting* it. And it seems to have been continued among the *Romans* in the *Verbenæ* used in the *Jus Fecialium* in *Sacrificial Leagues* with *Enemies*. Those they consecrated with their *Household Fires*, their *Foci*, opposed to the *Publick Aræ*, as taking Fire for the *nearest Resemblance* of the *Gods* then worshipped by them. Not to *Vesta*, as the *Translators* mistake, but to the *Heavenly Gods*, as the Author expressly explains himself, the *Sun*, the *Moon*, and the *Host of Heaven*, to use the Phrase of our *Sacred Writers*. For it was to the *Sun*, their *Mithras*, that the *Persians* kept their πυραυθία, their *Immortal Fires*, that were never to be extinguished, as the *Persian Band* of their Ἀθάνατοι were always supplied as *Vacancies* fell. *Macrobius* reduces all their *Gods* to the *Sun* and *Moon*, as the Emperor *Elagabalus* did all the *Male Gods* to his *Elagabalus*, which was the *Sun*. And indeed these were

were the most obvious *created* Beings that were likely to be mistaken for *Gods* by the *Simplicity* of the *earliest* and *rudest* Times. The Worship of *Sublunary Deities* seems to have been *later*. And the *Fire* for *domestick* Uses was that which was most likely to be made use of in the *first* Thoughts of *Men*. The *Roman immortal Fire* was consecrated to *Vesta* in the Opinion of *later Ages*. But *Vesta*, I believe, was taken for the *Focus* it self originally. For even that *Fire*, if by any *unhappy* Prognostication it came to be *extinguished*, was *not* to be enlightned but from the *Sun-beams*; which plainly shewed its being *originally* designed in Honour of the *Sun*. As *strange Fire* was punished in *Aaron's Sons* as *Piacular*, the *Divine Sacrifices* being burnt by *Fire* which *originally* came down from *Heaven*. The *next Food* of *Men* was of that which was a little more out of their *reach*, the *Fruits* of *Trees*, when they were βαλανφάγει. All *Trees* were contained under the Names of *Oaks* in this Case, as *Suidas* observes. And therefore not *Acorns* only, but all *other Fruits* on which they *fed*. But when they *fed* on the *Fruits*, they usually burnt the *Husks*, which were accordingly the *principal Sacrifices* of those Times. Thus far therefore they *fed* and *sacrificed* of the *native Products* of their *own*

own Countries, without any *Cultivation*. So far they were *then* from needing any *foreign* Commodities for the Uses of their *Sacrifices*. These are therefore here observed to have been the first θυμιάματα and θυμιατῆς and θυρία. And therefore were *imitated*, after the Introduction of the *perfuming* Fuel, that they might thereby become more *acceptable* to their *Gods*, as being more *simple* and more *agreeable* to the *primitive* Institution. Ἐρθεῖν is the Word proper for the *Bloody Sacrifices*, as the same Author observes from *Homer* in his §. 59. The *Perfumed Sacrifices* of *Frankincense*, which the *Scripture* calls *Incense*, these very learned Authors make later πομπῆς θυμιατῆς, and as an *Innovation* censured and *curst* by the *Religious* in the *first Inventors* of them. So that the *Sacrifices* themselves had the Name of ἀρώματα from those very *Curses* which had been denounced against the *first* Introducers of them; as being contrary to the λιτότης, which that same Author shews, from *Oracles* of their *Gods* themselves, to have been more *acceptable* than what was *far fetch'd* and *dear* bought. And this for a *Reason* as agreeable to *Christian* Principles, as to those of the wisest *Heathens* and *Jewish Hellenists* who had used it before, as the *Christian Apologists* did afterwards, against the *received Sacrifices*.

ces. That is, to let the Worshippers understand, that their *Manners* would more recommend them to the *Acceptation* of the *Deity*, than the *Expensiveness* of their *Oblations*; and that no good Man's *Poverty* should be any *Disadvantage* to him in his *Religious* Addresses.

By this Account, here given, you will easily observe, that *Incense* will not appear so *acceptable* a way of *Worship* as you have hitherto supposed it. It cannot pretend to that *Antiquity*, as to make it pass for a *Law* of *Nature* derived by uninterrupted *Tradition* from a *Divine Sanction* in those elder Ages, wherein *God* conversed with *Men* more familiarly than afterwards, yet before the *Invention* of *Letters*, which might make it capable of being a *written Law*. It appears, not to have been from the *Beginning*, and therefore, by our *Saviour's Reasoning* concerning *Divorce*, not to be *Argumentative*, as a *Standard of Right*. It appears, that, even when it was received, it was received with that *Disapprobation* as to subject the *Introducers* of it to a *Curse*, a way used, under the *Law of Nature*, for preventing *Innovations* in *Religion*. This will make the *Allowance* it had received formerly, to have been granted rather on account of the *Hardness* of the *Hearts* or *Wilfulness*, of the first *Introdu-*

10.

From this Account of its Original, Incense will appear unfit to be continued under the Gospel.

cers of it, than any *positive* Approbation of God, if they, who were *allowed* the Use of it, had been more *resigned* to the *Divine Will*, so as to have submitted to it in its *uttermost* Extent; and therefore utterly to be *abolished* under a *Dispensation* that is to *repeal* Allowances of that kind, and to *reduce* Duties to their primitive *Design*, by the same *Reasoning* of our Saviour, in the same forementioned Case of *Divorce*. St. James is as full in asserting the *Equality* of the *Poor* and the *Rich*, in reference to *Acceptance* with God, but rather allowing the *Advantage*, if any, to the *Poor*, S. Jam. II. 5. and our Lord himself in *preferring* the *Widow's Mites* to the *richer Donaries*, as those *Heathens* who *curst* the *Introducers* of such *Riches* (into the *ordinary Means* of *Address* to the *Deity*) as were *beyond* the *Abilities* of the *poorest good Man*, on that *very account* of his being *Poor*. This will make *Incense* liable to the same *Objection* which is produced by the *Fathers* for the *Abolition* of *bloody Sacrifices*. That, even whilst they were *required*, they were not *imposed* by any *prime Intention* grounded on *God's Approbation* of the *Things themselves*; but from a *secondary Intention*, that what was *then* commonly taken for a *Testimony* of *Divine Honour*, might, from *thenceforward*, be challenged to the *true God*,

God, who was justly intitled to *Divine Honour*, and appropriated to him. These things were, in course, to be laid *aside*, when all things were to be reduced to their *true original Design*. And this our Blessed Lord has plainly shewn to have been his *own Design* upon his Publication of the Gospel.

And this is a *Rule*, by which we may distinguish what *Legal Rites* might be continued, and what were to be antiquated, by the *new Dispensation*: The Apostle mentions the Prediction of *Haggai*, that God would shake, *not the Earth only, but the Heavens*, Heb. XII. 26. Not the *Temporal state* only of the Jews as a particular Nation, but the *Ecclesiastical* also, as a Church and a *Peculium*. And he makes the Event of that *Concussion* to be, the removing of the things that are shaken, *as of things that are made, that those things which could not be shaken, might remain*, v. 27. The Meaning is plainly this: That the Dispensation of the Gospel being *Archetypal* to the Law (by reference to which alone the Law could pretend to any *Efficacy* for the Purpose for which it was designed by the Divine Legislator) and *Heavenly*, must therefore be perpetual, and incapable of any Change (as having nothing in it *Temporary, or Earthly, or Humane, or accommodated to particular Circumstances*) that might

II.

The Legal Incense inconsistent with the Liberty of the New Peculium, and therefore necessarily abrogated by the Gospel.

might be presumed as lasting as the *World* it self, or a *visible Church* on *Earth*. That seems to be the Meaning of the *Unshakableness* here spoken of. And it is indeed all that a *Society* intitled to *Celestial Privileges* on *Earth*, and *confederated* by *earthly visible Symbols*, is capable of. And it fully reaches the *uttermost Design* of the *Apostle* in this way of *Reasoning*, as the *State* of the *Gospel* is, even in *this World*, called the *Kingdom of Heaven*, in *opposition* to the *Earthly Kingdom* of the *Old Peculium*. The Meaning therefore must be, That where the *Institutions* of the *Old* and *New Legislation* should *interfere*, the *Old* was to give way to the *New*, the *Terrestrial* to the *Celestial*, the *Temporal* to the *Eternal*, as being legally *repealed* by the *later Act* of the same *Legislator*. And that is the Case in our present Instance of *Incense*. The *Design* of our *Blessed Lord*, in the *Gospel*, was to *unite* both *Peculiums* into one *Body* in relation to all the *sacred Offices* of *Religion*, wherein *uncircumcised Gentiles* might *join* as well as *original believing Jews* and *Profelytes* of *Justice*. This required the *Abolition* of *Incense* as well as of the *bloody Sacrifices*. The *uncircumcised Gentiles* could not be admitted to the *Incense* of the *Temple* by the *Priests* who *officiated* in *offering* the *Incense*. It had been taken

taken for a *Profanation* of the *Temple* if such *uncircumcised Gentiles* had once come into that *holier* part of the *Temple* where the *Altar* stood. *Acts* XXI. 28, 29. Even the *Court* of the *Gentiles* was treated with less *Respect* by the *Jews*, because the *Gentiles* were admitted to it. There was therefore no *Remedy* for this, but by introducing *Incense* into the *Christian Assemblies* by a new *Ecclesiastical Authority*. But with this they could not have joined who thought the *Old Law* concerning *Incense* still in *force*, as they must have done who thought themselves *perpetually obliged* to it, on account of the *Old Legislation*. And so they must have thought who thought that sufficient for *continuing* it without any new *Authority* derived from the *Gospel*, which must be a necessary *Consequence* of believing it a part of that *Moral Law*, which continues the same under both *Dispensations*. But by the *Law*, the believing *Jews* could not justify their communicating with such *sacrificial Incense* in the *Christian Assemblies*. By the *Law* it was *unlawful* for *private Persons* to make it. And all those *Christian Priests* which had used it that were not of the *Levitical Sacerdotal Families*, were no more than *private Persons* in the *Judgment* of the same *Mosaic Law*. By the *Law*, it was *Piacular* for any but *Levitical*

Levitical Priests to offer it, as your self have observed in the Cases of *Korah* and *Uzziah*, which was the same with that of the *Gentile Christian Priests* who could not derive their *Pedigree* from *Aaron*. By the *Law*, even those *Levitical Priests*, though *Converts*, could not offer *Incense* in the *Assemblies* that were proper to the *Christians*, being confined in all their *Ministrations* to the *Temple*, from the time that *God* had settled the *Worship* in the *Temple*. They must therefore have incurred a *Piaculum* who had communicated with the *uncircumcised Christians* in that part of their *Worship* by *Incense*, and thereby have made themselves *abominable* to those of their own *Nation*, who still believed that the *Law* concerning *Incense* was still in force.

12.
The Reasoning of S. Barnabas supposes a Necessity of the Evacuation of Incense as well as other legal Sacrifices, in order to the introducing the higher Obligation of offering up

This therefore was part of the *Partition-Wall* which our Saviour was to break down, in order to the making *Jews* and *uncircumcised Gentiles* capable of being made one, *Eph. II. 14*. What can be clearer to this Purpose than the Words of *God* himself in the Evangelical Prophet *Isaiah*, declaring before-hand his Sentiment of this as well as the other *Jewish Sacrifices* under the *Gospel*: *ὑμῶν αὐτῶν βδελυγμὸς καὶ ἔσθι*. I. 13. And what can be more express than the Observation of *S. Barnabas*, immediately following it: *Hæc ergo vacua fecit, ut nova* Lex

Lex Domini nostri Jesu Christi, quæ sine jugo necessitatis est, humanam habeat oblationem. Catholic. Ep. c. 2. " These things therefore " he has evacuated, that the *New Law* of " our Lord *Jesus Christ*, which is without " any Yoke of Bondage, might bring in " the *Mystical Oblation*. I give you the Words in *Latin* only, because the Original *Greek* of this *first Part* of the *Epistle* is wanting. Yet they are probably enough restored, though by *Conjecture* only, in the *Sacred Language* of that Age: Ταῦτα ἐν χα-
 πύρῃ, ἵνα ἡ κατὰ διαθήκην τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰη-
 σοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀντὶ ζυγοῦ δουλείας ᾖσα, πρὶν λογικῶν
 λατρείαν εἰσαγάγῃ. Unless perhaps νόμος be
 put in the place of διαθήκη, and what de-
 pends on that, be altered so as to agree with
 that *Change*. The *humana oblatio* may an-
 swer the λογικὴ λατρεία, as understood by
 the *Interpreter*, for the σῶμα, which is
 joined with it, of the *Man* himself, the
 λογικὸν ζῶον, as the *Sacrifice*, which was to
 be presented at the *Altar*, as the *Beast* was
 bound with *Cords* to the *Horns* of the *Altar*.
 So σῶμα is used for a *sacrificial Body*, Hebr.
 X. 5. By which *Interpretation Barnabas*
 reckons *Incense* among the *Sacrifices* of the
Law which were to be evacuated, that way
 might be made for our *Obligation* to offer
 our selves when the *Substitution* of *Beasts*,
 in our *stead*, should be abrogated. So the

λογικὴ λατρεία will be opposed to the *sacrificing Beasts*, called ἄλογα 2 S. Pet. II. 12. S. Jude v. 10. And the *killing* of these *Sacrifices* is the *mortifying* our *earthly Members* Col. III. 5. the σῶμα of Sin Rom. VI. 6. Alluding to the *sacrificial Destruction* both of the *Beasts* and the *Incense*, when offered in *Sacrifice*. The Words of God, in the *Prophet*, thus explained, are full to my Purpose. He does not only declare his *Non-acceptance* of *Incense*, but his *Dislike* of it, nay his *Abomination* of it, and consequently of *those* who should hereafter presume to offer him a *Sacrifice* so *unacceptable*. He does this on account of the *Sacrifice* it self, not only of the *Manners* of those who offered it. So it is plain that S. Barnabas understood him when he reasons from these Words for an *Evacuation* of this *legal Command*, as well in relation to *Incense* as *other legal Sacrifices*. So he must have understood them when he hence concludes the *Necessity* of offering our *selves*, when none of those *external Oblations* would be accepted for us. And so his Fellow-Apostle S. Paul also seems to reason in the Place now mentioned, on the very same *Principles* as he does. The *Incense* was intended, as I have shewn, as a *Sacrifice of Praise* for our *Sustenance*, restoring to God the *First-fruits* of what we had received,

received, as an Acknowledgment that *all* was received from him. But this Reasoning teaches us to advance the Duty higher, not to content our selves with a Consecration of the *First-fruits*, but to consecrate the *Remainder* also, *all* that *we* our selves partake of, all that is converted into our Substance, by nourishing us, all the Remainder of our selves, that is to be supported by this Nourishment, as antecedent to it. All this is no more than what is necessary for the greater Dignity to which we are advanced by the Gospel, of being living Temples of the Holy Ghost. That would naturally require the most perfect kind of Consecration of our Bodies that they are capable of in *this* Life. Greater than that which could be expected from a Consecration of *First-fruits*, which, by the uttermost Latitude of Interpretation, could extend no farther than our Nutriment, of which the consecrated *First-fruits*, before their Separation, had been a part. This therefore would still leave that Part of our Bodies, which was antecedent to Nutrition, destitute of that higher Degree of Holiness than was requisite by the Law of the old Peculium, and therefore still unholy by the Contagion of Original Sin. It is a Rule in the Doctrine of Consecrations of those Times, that a *holy thing touching a*

common and profane thing, that Touch would not suffice to make a profane thing holy, but that, on the contrary, its Touch would destroy the Holiness before supposed, so that the Contagion would be to the making them both profane, Hagg. II. 13, 14. So far this mixture of Holiness and Profanation falls short of that higher Degree of Consecration which is requisite for living Temples of the Holy Ghost.

13.
The Incense mentioned in the Revelations, as it relates to the Gospel, is interpreted by S. John himself, of the Mystical Incense of Prayer, not of Literal Incense.

Your only Pretence in the *New Testament* is the Mention of the *ῥυμιάνα* in *Heaven* by S. John in the *Revelations*. But the same Holy Person sufficiently explains himself, that though the *Symbol*, and the Thing *mystically* intended by the *Symbol*, be both of them mentioned by him, yet that the *mystical* Meaning of the *Symbol* was the Thing principally intended by him in relation to his *Christian Readers*. The *golden Vials* full of *ῥυμιάνα* are the *Prayers of the Saints*, Rev. V. 8. VIII. 3, 4. The *Incense* is plainly no otherwise mentioned than as it was requisite in a *prophetick Vision*, that *Prayer* not being in it self *visible*, should have a *visible Symbol* to represent it to the *Imagination* of the *Prophet*. It was therefore very *natural* for him who was a *natural Jew*, to represent it by a *visible Symbol*, with which all *Christians*, who were so as well as he, were so very well

acquainted. And there was no *Symbol* in the Worship of the *Temple* so proper to represent *Prayer* as that of *Incense*. Your self have observed that Passage of the *Psalmist* in the *Old Testament* to that purpose, that his *Prayer* might ascend to *Heaven* like *Incense*. And, in the old *Aruspicina*, one of the *Tokens* by which they judged of the *Acceptableness* of their *Sacrifices* and their *Litations*, was, by the *ascending* of the *Smoak* or *Flame*, or by its being *dispersed* and *driven away*. If it were *driven away*, it was taken for an ill *Omen*, and an *Argument* of a *μωπία* of the *Deity* to whom it was offered. But it being *natural* for the *Steam* to *ascend*, that was *not* taken for so *certain* an *Argument* of *Litation* and *Acceptance*, as the other was of *Unacceptableness*. Which might be a true *Reason* for the *Psalmist* to pray God to *ratify* the good *Omen*, that his *Prayer* might *ascend* to *Heaven* as his *Incense*, that was offered with it, had done *already*. It is very probable that it was, by some such *Argument* as this is, that *Cain* and *Abel* knew the different *Events* of their respective *Sacrifices*, by some *sensible* Significations of the *Divine* Pleasure concerning them, so evident as to cause that *Resentment* in *Cain*, which must needs have been the *Consequence* of a *clear* Conviction of the Matter

Senec.
OEdip.
Æt. II.
v. 325.

of Faç. The like Observation is made concerning the *Sacrifice of Tiresias* in relation to the *Event* of the *Thebanè War*. The Representation therefore of the *Prayers* of the *Saints* in *Heaven* at the *Cælestial Altar* by *S. John*, is a plain Signification of their *Acceptableness* to *God* to whom they were offered. But this could not be represented in a *Prophetick Vision*, but by a *Symbol* as visible as the *Altar* it self, which was represented to the *Apocalyptick Prophet* at the same time with it. And what could that be but by a Representation of *Incense* at the same *Altar*, as a properer *Symbol* of *Prayer* than any other *Sacrifice* then received. So the *Efficacy* of *Prayers* is expressed by their coming up to *God's holy place*, even to *Heaven*, 2 Chron. XXX. 27. and by the *Hellenists* Tob. III. 16. XII. 12. much more certainly than that the *Perfume* of the *Incense* can do so, which it can never do. They only presumed that the *Prayer* was accepted when the *Smoak* was not visibly diverted so long as they could see it. But *Prayer* it self could not have been represented in a *Prophetick Vision*, but by the visible *Smoak* of the *Incense*. However, the *Altar* represented in the *Apocalyptick Vision* could not have been any visible *Christian Altar* on *Earth*, but that famous golden one which was set apart, by divine

Ap-

Appointment, in that *part* of the *Temple* which represented *Heaven* it self, and was therefore accessible by *none* but the *Priests*, or Persons of *Priestly Sanctity*, and which was therefore accounted the *holier Altar* of the two, as I have shewn in my *Discourse* against *Occasional Communion*. The People are said to *pray without this part* of the *Temple*, while *Zacharias* a *Priest* of the *ordinary Courses* officiated at this *Altar of Incense*, S. *Luk.* I. 10, 11, 21. That *this* was the *Altar* here represented, appears from the *Censers* being said to have been of *Gold*, Rev. V. 8. But more clearly from Rev. VIII. 3, 4. where, not only the *Altar* seen in *Heaven* is said to have been of *Gold*, but the *Incense* also, that it might appear to have been of one *Metal* with the *Altar*. The *Angel* is said to have stood at the *Altar*, ἔχων λίβανον τὸν χρυσεὺν ---- ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον τοῦ χρυσεὺν. You can hardly think that the *Christians* of that *Age* could have *golden Altars* on which they offered their *Incense*. The *Age* of *golden Priests* is said to be the same with that of *woodden Chalices*. And certainly their *Altars* for offering their *Incense* could not have been preferred to the *Vessels* in which they offered the far more valuable *Sacrifice* of the *mystical Blood* of *Christ*. However, I know not how you can give an *Account* why

Frankincense should be called *golden*, if it had not been to signify its Relation to that only *golden Altar* of the *old Peculium* in the *Temple of Jerusalem*. Yet if the *Christians* had pretended to an *Altar* for that end of offering their *Incense*, it could not have been *acceptable* to *God* unless it had been *such* as *God* had declared his *positive Acceptance* of. If therefore the *Altar* of the *Christians* had been other than of *Gold* whilst *God* confined his *Acceptance* to a *golden Altar*, for this purpose of *Incense*, it could not hope for *Acceptance*. It is no more the *Poverty* of an *Altar*, than its *Riches*, that can make it *available* for this end, of being *acceptable* to *God*, but its being *such* as *God* had appointed it to be, who could be *obliged* by no *covenanting Symbols* but *such* as were of his own *Appointment*. His *Consent* to them, for that end, is that which lays the *Obligation* on him to *ratify* in *Heaven* what is by them *transacted* on *Earth*.

14. Seeing therefore that the *Apocalyptical Prophet* has represented the *heavenly Altar* as *golden*, I rather gather thence, that *God* had then made no *Innovation* in this Matter by his *Authority* committed to his *Apostles*. Had he made any such *Innovation* in the Matter of the *Altar*, I see no reason

From this Passage of the Revelations it appears, that the Christians had not then any Altar for offering Incense, distinct from that of the Jews,

to doubt, but that the *heavenly Altar* would have been *represented* of the same *Materials* with the *Incense-Altar* of the *Christians*, not that of the *Jews*. For, if there had been any *Difference* between them, *God's* choosing to represent the *heavenly Archetypal Altar* like that of the *Jews*, not of the *Christians*, would naturally have been interpreted (by the way of interpreting prophetic Visions received in that Age) to have signified his greater *Approbation* of the *Jewish Worship* than of that of the *Christians*. Which had been, at once, to have overthrown all that had been endeavoured, by the *Apostles* (by that *divine Authority* with which they were invested by our *Lord himself*) in that *whole Age*. For you cannot think that the *Archetypal Altar* is *material* at all. Much less that it is of the same *Consistency* with any of our *sublunary Minerals*. That therefore it is so represented, is only to make it capable of being represented in a *prophetic Vision*. As *Heaven* it self (for continuing the same *Allegory*) is represented as a *City* built of the richest *sublunary Metals* and *precious Stones*. The *Design* is, to signify, and (the *Signification* being stipulatory) to transact, our *Right* as *Colonies* of the *heavenly Jerusalem* the *Mother* of us all, to the *Sacra* of our *heavenly Metropolis*. So the *Reubenites* and *Gadites*,

Gadites, and Half-Tribe of *Manasseh*, asserted their Right to the *Sacra* of the *Israelites* on the other Side of *Jordan*, by a *monumental Altar*, on which they were not to sacrifice, because God had forbidden any more *National Altars* than one, and that they might not be thereby excused from frequenting the *Panegyres* of the whole *Nation*. So the *Altar* of *Heliopolis*, in *Egypt*, was kept up without *Schism*, as copied from that of *Jerusalem*, and attended by *legal Priests*, and supposed to be dispensed with by the *Prophecy* of God himself concerning it. So *Abaz*, in copying the *Altar* at *Damascus* involved himself in the *Communion* of the *Syrian Gods* that were worshipped at *Damascus*. Thus therefore the whole *Security* of the *earthly Altar* for maintaining a *Communion* with the *heavenly Altar*, and for procuring an *Interest* in that *heavenly City*, and its never *unacceptable Sacrifices*, is to be derived from its being a faithful *Ectype* of that *heavenly Archetype*. The *Efficacy* of the *Tabernacle* for entitling its *Worshippers* to *heavenly Privileges*, was a *Consequent* of its being made according to the *Pattern* shewn by God to *Moses* in the *Mount*, which *Pattern* *Philo* owns to have been *heavenly*, as well as *St. Paul*. The same Account is given also by the *Hellenists* of the *Temple* and *Altar* of *Jerusalem*.

So

So the Author of the Book of *Wisdom* personates *Solomon*: *Thou hast commanded me to build a Temple upon thy holy Mount, and an Altar in the City wherein thou dwellest, a resemblance of the holy Tabernacle which thou hast prepared from the beginning.* IX. 8. This is the true *Tabernacle*, which the Lord pitched, not Man, *Hebr.* VIII. 2. to which the Apostle applies the Pattern in the Mount, v. 5. The greater and more perfect *Tabernacle*, IX. 11. *not made with hands.* And though the visible Representation of the heavenly Pattern was arbitrary, as to God, yet it was to answer the positive Institution of God on Earth. *S. John* therefore representing the heavenly Altar, as golden, must suppose that there had as yet been no earthly Altar instituted by God to transact the Correspondence with the heavenly but what was golden. The Christian Altars for Incense (if they had any) must have been golden ones; or, if they had not been so, could not have expected a Ratification in Heaven. What therefore is here intended, by the Prophet, can be no other but the mystical Interpretation of the Incense, that is the Prayers signified by it (as the Author expressly explains himself) as well as the Altars, to which that Incense related, could have been no other than mystical, as it related to the Christians, though

15.
The Author of the
Revelations, S. John
the Elder, seems to
have written after
the Death of the last
Apostle of the same
Name.

though both of them be represented by the *last known Symbols* among the *Jews*, instituted by *God* under the *first Peculium*.

This therefore seems to have been the Case during the Age of the *Apostles* to the Death of *S. John*, the last Survivor of them. For I take the *Revelations* to have been written by *S. John the Elder*, not the *Apostle*, according to the Opinion of *Dionysius Alexandrinus* in *Euseb. H. E. VII. 25*. The *Presbyter*, I confess, had *Catholic Jurisdiction*, as a *Presbyter* of the Church of *Jerusalem* in its first Constitution, by our Lord himself in *Person*, as one (perhaps) of the *LXXII. immediately* sent by him. But I can hardly think that he would exercise it with that *Authority* as the Author of the Book of the *Revelations* does, while the *Apostle* of the same Name with him was alive and resident in the same City of *Ephesus* with him, where both of them were buried, as *Papias* assures us, who saw and conversed with *John the Elder*, but not the *Apostle*. By which it appears, that the *Elder* survived the *Apostle*. Thus far therefore it appears, that the *Christians* had not yet received the Use of *Incense*. I now proceed further to examine, and explain, the Sentiments of the *first* and *purest* Ages concerning the same Argument, before the Conversion of the *Empire*.

S. Justin

S. Justin Martyr ascribes the *Invention* of Incense to the fallen Angels, and reckons the θυμιάματα among the other Acts which they had made use of for enslaving Mankind to their own usurped *Dominion* over them, διὰ διδασχῆς θυμάτων, καὶ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΩΝ, καὶ σπονδῶν, ὧν ἐνδεῖς γέγονασι μὲν τὸ πᾶσι δὲ ἐκθυμίων δαλωθῆναι. By the Doctrine of Sacrifices, and Incensings, and Libations, of which they stand in need since their being enslaved to the Passions of Concupiscences. Apolog. II. verè n. 6. p. 10. Ed. Grabianæ. This he had, in all likelihood, from the Apocryphal Book of Enoch, though it appear not now in the few Fragments remaining of it. However, even in them, those Angels are made the Authors of many more the like unlawful Inventions. Yet as that Book is quoted by S. Jude, so it is followed by most of the first Fathers, as containing nothing different from the Traditions they had received from the Apostles. It comes home to the Words of Isaiah, that Incense is an Abomination, when it is reckoned among the Doctrines of the Devils, communicated by the Apostate Angels to the Women who had been debauched by them. The same holy Martyr owns the Supreme Being not to need Incenses, and reckons this among the Doctrines they had received in their Catechetical Instructions of

16.
The Testi-
monies of
S. Justin
Martyr
against In-
cense.

of the *Christian Religion* : ἀνευδὲν αἱματίων, καὶ σπονδῶν, καὶ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΩΝ, ὡς ἐδίδαχθημεν. *That he has no need of Blood, or Libations, or Incensings, as we have been instructed.* And allows no other *Sacrifice* for all things received by them, but that of *Prayer and Eucharist*, λόγῳ δ' ἑκείνου καὶ εὐχαριστίας, ἐφ' ᾧ περσφερόμεθα πάντες, ὅση δυνάμει, ἀνέναντι, μόνῳ ἀξίαν αὐτῷ πληρὸν ταύτῃ ὡς λαβόντες. *By the word of Prayer and Thanksgiving praising him, according to the utmost of our Ability, for all things which we receive from him, having received this as the only way of honouring him, that is worthy of him.* Apol. I. n. 16. p. 23. This he owns for the *Doctrine* delivered to them. So that *Incense* could not, as yet, have obtained in *Practice*. Elsewhere he owns no acceptable *Sacrifice* under the *Gospel*, but the *Eucharist*. Dial. cum Tryph. p. 260. 344. In *Opposition* to the Jewish *Sacrifices* which were consumed by *Fire*, and which were confined to *Jerusalem*. Both which *Reasonings* proceed, as validly, against *Incense* as *Sacrifice*. And, for that very Reason, he expounds the *Passage* of *Malachy*, produced by you, of the *Christian Eucharist*, because none but that was then practised every where, from the rising to the setting of the *Sun*, nor could be, by that *Law* of *God*, from which he reasons against *Tryphon*. Nor does he apologize for

for any Breach of that Law by the Christians, as Tryphon would no doubt have obliged him to do, if that Age had offered Incense, in so many places where it was plainly forbidden by the Law of Moses.

So long the Christians had not, yet, received the Custom of offering Incense. That is, to the time of Antoninus Pius, under whom, I have elsewhere proved, that this Bl. Martyr suffered. For the time of Marcus we have the Testimony of Athenagoras:

17.
And of
Athena-
goras.

Ο πᾶς τε παντὸς δημιουργὸς καὶ πατὴρ ἔστιν αἰμάτων, ἔστιν κνίαντος, ἔστιν ἔτι ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνδρῶν καὶ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΩΝ ὁσώδιας, αὐτὸς ὢν ἡ τελεία ὁσώδια, ἀνευδὲς καὶ ἀπεροσδὲς. The Maker of this Universe, and Father, needs no Blood, nor Fat, nor the sweet scents of Flowers and Incense, himself being the perfect sweet savour, needing nothing in himself, nor any thing that can be added to him. Legat. p. 13. Ed. Paris. What need could there have been for this Apology for the Christians, if it had not been the known Practice of the Christians, to make no more use of Incense, than they did of other consumptive Sacrifices? Their want of Sacrifices is plainly the Prejudice conceived against them, for which he is accounting in the Words now mentioned.

About the same time S. Irenæus reckons Frankincense among the antiquated Sacrifices,

18.
And of
S. Irenæus.

ces, in which God would have *no* Delight under the *new* Dispensation of the Gospel. He quotes to this purpose Jer. VI. 20. Isa. XLIII. 23, 24. where *Frankincense* is expressly mentioned among the other Sacrifices among the Jews, and denies them to have been required by God, even then. So he concludes: *Ex quibus omnibus manifestum est, quia non sacrificia & holocaustomata querebat ab eis Deus*: "From all which it is
 "manifest, that God did not require Sa-
 "crifices and whole Burnt-offerings from
 "them. L. IV. c. 32. in that *Latitude* mentioned in the *Text* now mentioned, which included *Frankincense*. So far he was from reckoning *Incense* for a *Moral Law* obliging all other Nations as well as the Jews, that he did not think it directly and primarily intended for a *Law* even to the Jews themselves. He quotes also your Passage of *Malachy* I. 11. but so as to understand it of the Cessation of all the other then received Sacrifices, and to concern Christians only in the Eucharistical Sacrifice of the Sacrament. His Words are: *Manifestissimè significans per hæc, quoniam prior quidem Populus cessabit offerre Deo; omni autem loco sacrificium offerretur Deo, & hoc purum*. "Manifestly signifying, by these
 "things, that the former People would
 "cease to offer any thing to God; but
 "that

“ that however a Sacrifice was, for the
 “ future, to be offered to God in every
 “ Place, and that a pure one. This is but
one Sacrifice instead of *all the Jewish Sacrifices*, without the least mention of the *Continuance of Incense* among the *Christians*. In the next Chap. 33. he takes notice of the Mention of *Incense* in the place of *Malachy*, and owns it well said *secundum utraq; : Et in omni loco incensum offertur nomini meo, & sacrificium purum.* “ In both Re-
 “ spects: Both Incense is every where of-
 “ fered to my Name, and a pure Sacrifice. But then he shews what Sense *Incense* was to be understood in, as offered by the Church. *Incensa autem Joannes in Apocalypsi orationes esse ait Sanctorum.* “ But *John*,
 “ in the *Revelations*, says that Incense is
 “ the Prayers of the Saints. Plainly shew-
 ing, that it was to be understood not *literally*, but *mystically*, of the *Prayers* that were represented by the *Incense*: And withall, that he believed that *S. John* himself added that *Explication* of the *Incense* necessarily represented in the *Prophetick Vision*, that his Reader might *not* so understand him, as if the *Incense* was offered on the *heavenly Altar*, or sent up from any *earthly Altar* received in the new *mystical Peculium*, but the *Prayers* only. Which *Explication* had been needless, if the *Church* had offered

E

both,

19.
And of
Tertullian

both, i. e. *material Incense* as well as *Prayers*.

I have already given you some Words of *Tertullian* to the same purpose. I now give you more. Thus therefore he describes the *Christian Sacrifice*: *Ego sum, cui impetrare debetur, famulus ejus, qui cum solum observo, qui propter disciplinam ejus occidor, qui ei offero opimam & majorem hostiam, quam ipse mandavit, orationem de carne pudicâ, de animâ innocentî, de spiritu sancto profectam: Non grana thuris unius assis, non Arabicæ arboris lacrymas.* “I

“ am he who ought to obtain what I de-
“ sire in my Prayers, his Servant, who
“ worship him alone, who, for his Dis-
“ cipline, am killed, who offer to him
“ the fat and most acceptable Sacrifice,
“ which himself has required, Prayer
“ from a chaste Body, from an innocent
“ Soul, proceeding from the Holy Ghost:
“ Not Grains of *Frankincense* of a small
“ Value, not the Tears of an *Arabian Tree*.

Apolog. c. 30. Here again you see plainly, that the *Christian Thurification* of that Age was the same now described by *S. Irenæus* from the Author of the *Revelations*. The *mystical* one of *Prayers*. And that, in direct *Opposition* to that of *Frankincense*, which he expressly *denies* to be offered by himself as a *Christian*. So far he is from allowing a *Christian Thurification*, that he does

does not own it lawful for a Christian to trade in that Merchandize of Frankincense. *In crimen offendere Idololatriæ eam opinor, quæ ad ipsam Idolorum animam & spiritum pertinet, quæ omne Dæmonium saginat; annon illa principalis Idololatria, viderint, si eadem merces, thura dico, & cætera Peregrinitatis, sacrificium Idolorum.* “ I conceive that sort

“ of Trading to come under the Charge of
 “ Idolatry, which relates to the Soul and
 “ Spirit of Idolatry, which nourishes every
 “ sort of Dæmon. Let Persons concerned
 “ consider whether that be not the prin-
 “ cipal Idolatry if they deal in the same
 “ Wares, I mean Frankincense, and the o-
 “ ther Appurtenances of strange Worship,
 “ relating to the Sacrifice of Idols. *De Idol.*

c. II. Afterwards: *Si publicarum victimarum redemptor ad fidem accedat, permittes ei in eo negotio permanere? Aut si, jam fidelis, id agere susceperit, retinendum in Ecclesiâ putabis? Non, opinor, nisi si quis & de thurario dissimulabit. Scilicet ad alios pervenit procuratio sanguinis & odorum. Si antequam Idola in seculo essent, his mercibus adhuc informis Idololatria transigebatur, si & nunc fere sine Idolo opus Idololatriæ incendiis odorum perpetratur, ecquid majoris operæ, & erga Dæmonia thurarius? Nam facilius sine [Idolo] Idololatria, quàm sine thurarii merce. Ipsius fidei con-*

scientiam perrogemus, quo ore Christianus thurarius, si per Tempia transibit, quo ore fumantes aras despuit, & exsufflabit, quibus ipse prospexit? Quâ constantiâ exorcizabit alumnos suos: quibus domum suam cellariam præstat? Ille quidem, si excluserit Dæmonium, non sibi placeat de fide. Neque enim inimicum exclusit. Facile debuit de eo impetrare quem quotidie pascit. Nulla igitur ars, nulla professio, nulla negotiatio quæ quid aut instruendis aut formandis Idolis administrat, carere poterit titulo Idololatriæ: nisi si aliud omnino interpretemur Idololatriam, quàm famulatum Idolorum colendorum. “ If

“ one who trades in undertaking to find
 “ Beasts for the Publick Sacrifices, come
 “ over to the Faith; will you permit him
 “ to continue in the same Employment?
 “ Or if, having been already a Christian,
 “ he shall undertake to do the same thing,
 “ will you think fit to continue him in
 “ the Church? I cannot think any one
 “ can find in his heart to do so, unless he
 “ can dissemble in the Case of a Person
 “ who trades in *Frankincense*. The only
 “ Difference of the two Cases is, that the
 “ one sort provides Blood, the other sweet
 “ Perfumes. If, before there were any
 “ Idols in the World, the Idolatry that
 “ was then committed, was unshapen with-
 “ out these Wares by which Idols are
 “ made;

“ made; If, even now, an Idolatrous Work
“ is committed, without an Idol, by bur-
“ ning Odours; Is not the Trade of a
“ Dealer in *Frankincense* the more neces-
“ sary of the two, even with regard to
“ the Devils themselves? For Idolatry
“ may be more easily committed without
“ an Idol, than without the Wares of him
“ that trades in *Frankincense*. Let us en-
“ quire of the Conscience of his Faith it
“ self, with what Face can a Christian
“ Seller of *Frankincense*, when he passes
“ through the Temples; [I say] with
“ what Face will he be able to spit at the
“ smoaking Altars, and shew thereby his
“ Abhorrence of them, when himself has
“ taken care to furnish them? With what
“ Consistency to his own Principles can he
“ exorcize those Devils which are main-
“ tained by him, for whom he makes his
“ own House a Storehouse? He indeed
“ has no reason to please himself with
“ any good Opinion of his own Faith, if
“ he should cast out a Devil. For neither,
“ if he should cast him out, has he cast out
“ an Enemy. There is reason he should
“ easily prevail with him to go out wil-
“ lingly, considering that he is dayly fed
“ by him. No Art therefore, no Pro-
“ fession, no Trade, can be excused from
“ the Charge of Idolatry, which contri-

“butes to the providing for Idols, or
 “for making Idols, unless we interpret
 “Idolatry of something else than a Ser-
 “vice of Idols which are made purpose-
 “ly to be worshipped. How could Ter-
 tullian have written this, if the *Practice* of
 the Church of his Age had been the same
 with that wherein the great *Bodies* of the
Eastern and Western Church are agreed now?
 Could he have condemned *Incensing* for I-
 dolatrous, even where no Idol was suppo-
 sed present, if it had been the notorious Cu-
 stom of the Church with which himself com-
 municated? How could he have condem-
 ned the Trade of dealing in that particu-
 lar Ware of *Frankincense*, if that had been
 the Case? Where could they have bought
 their *Frankincense* for their own Use, if it
 had been thought unlawful for a *Christian*
 to deal in it? Could they who thought it
 unlawful for a *Christian* to sell it, think it
 notwithstanding lawful for a *Christian* to
 buy it? They must, on these Terms, have
 reduced themselves to this *Necessity*, that
 when they could find in their hearts to
 buy these Wares, they must buy them of
 none but Heathens, who might have it in
 their Power to pollute them with *Idolatrous*
Contagions, which to them must have been
 more grievous than any *Sophistication*. It
 would have been then as impossible for
 them

them to have got *Frankincense* to incense their *Images*, according to the *modern Use*, as it was to get *Images* fit to be incensed whilst they did, at the *same time* (as they really did *then*) condemn the *Painting* and *Statuary Art* by which *Images* were to be made. But *Tertullian's* Sense is clear elsewhere in his Book against the *Jews*, c. 5. He there *distinguishes* between the *Jewish* and *Christian Sacrifices*, so as to make all *terrene Sacrifices Jewish*, and to allow the *Christians* none but such as were *spiritual* and *mystical*: That is, still with relation to the *Sacrifices* then received, for *Oblations consumed with Fire* on *material Altars*, which will include their *Incense* as well as their *other Oblations of Animals*. Reckoning the *Christian Eucharist* for the *Archetypal Sacrifice of Christ* upon the *Cross*, from whence the *Efficacy* of all other *Sacrifices* was derived that were supposed *efficacious*. And he there produces that Part of the *Prophecy of Malachy* which related to the *pure Offering*, without taking any Notice of the *Incense* that is joined with it. No doubt as understanding the *fulfilling* of that part of the same *Prophecy* under the *Gospel*, not of any *terrene Incense*, but of that which was *spiritually* meant by *Incense*, the *Prayers*, as has already been observed. But he is *full* and *express*

press in taking in the whole Passage of *Isai-ah*, *Incensum abominatio est mihi*. Nay he concludes that the Place of *Malachy* must relate to the Gospel, because the Jewish *Sacrifices* could be offered no where, *nisi in Terrâ sanctâ*. Which Reasoning proceeds as firmly concerning *Incense* as of any of the Jewish Animal *Sacrifices*, as I have already observed.

20.
And of Mi-
nutius Fe-
lix.

But the learned Dr. *Beveridge*, late Bishop of *S. Asaph*, suspected something singular in the Case of *Tertullian* and the Church of *Africa*. But what then can we think of the *ara nulla* objected to the Christians by *Cæcilius* in *Minutius Felix*? He wrote a little after *Tertullian*, as mentioning the Representation of the God of the Christians with an *Ass's-Head*, which was a Slander newly invented when *Tertullian* wrote his *Apologetick*: Yet before *S. Cyprian*, who transcribes some Passages out of him *verbatim* in his Book *De Vanit. Idol.* The Word *Ara* signifies such an Altar as was fitted to be a *Hearth*, which was to receive the Fire by which the *Sacrifices* of the Jews and Heathens were to be consumed. Which was indeed perfectly useless in relation to the Christian Eucharistical Sacrifice: so that the Want of such an *Ara* might very truly be objected to the Christians, even of that Age, who owned no

Sacrif.

Sacrifices but what were *mystical* and *spiritual*. Who owned no *Sacrifices* that were to be *consumed* by a *material Fire*, which required a *material Hearth*, on which the *Fire* was to be *kindled*, and to be *perpetually preserved*, in such *Cases* where the *Use of common Fire* was taken for a *Profanation*. But the *offering of Frankincense* by *Fire*, which was *essential* to make it *Incense*, did require a *Fire* and a *Hearth*, as well as any of the received *bloody Sacrifices*. Yet *Minutius* may attest the *Sense* and *Practice* of the *Italian Churches*, because he makes *Italy* the *Scene* of his *Dialogue*.

Clemens Alexandrinus wrote about the same time with *Tertullian*, in the time of *Septimius Severus*. He was so great a *Traveller*, as well as a *Reader*, that hardly any known *Practice* of any *Church* in the *Roman World* could escape him. And therefore what he speaks, in the *Name of Christians*, without *Exception*, may reasonably be presumed to be the *Sense* of the *Generality* of them. And he also quotes the *Passage of Isaiah*, θυμίαμα βδέλυγμα μοι ἐστίν, *Incense is an abomination to me*. And a little afterwards he adds to this very *Purpose*: Πῶς ἐν σέψω, ἢ μύρω χερίω; ἢ τί θυμίαμα ἔσω πῶς κρείω; Ὁσμή, φησὶν, δὲ ὁδὸς τῆς καρδίας δεξιᾶς σου τὸν πεπληκῆται ἀντίω. Ταῦτα σέφη, καὶ θυσία, καὶ ἄρωματα, καὶ ἄνθη

21.
And of
Clemens
Alexan-
drinus.

ἄνδρ' τὸ θεῶ. *How then shall I crown, or
 anoint? Or what Incense shall I offer to
 the Lord? A heart, says he, that glorifies
 him, is a Sacrifice of sweet savour to God.
 These are Crowns, and Sacrifices, and aro-
 matick Smells, and Flowers fit for God. Pæd.
 l. III. c. ult. He also interprets the Incense
 which our Saviour, as Archetypal High-
 Priest, is said to offer in Heaven, mystically:*
 Εἰ γὰρ τῆς δώδας τὸ θυμίαμα, ἢ μέλαν ἀρχι-
 ερεῖα, ἢ κύριον ἀναφέρειν λέγοιεν τῷ θεῷ, μὴ
 θυσίαν παύτως καὶ δώδαν ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΟΣ
 νοούντων (be pleased here to remember, that
 by νοούντων is meant νοήτωσαν, a Form fre-
 quently used by this Author) ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ
 τῆς ἀγάπης δεκτὸν ἀναφέρειν ἢ κύριον ἢ πονε-
 ρικῶς δώδαν εἰς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ᾧ δεχέ-
 σθαι. *If therefore they say that the High Priest
 the Lord, offers an Incense of sweet savour to
 God, let them not take this for a Sacrifice,
 and a sweet savour of Incense; but let them
 understand it so, that the Lord offers the ac-
 ceptable Sacrifice of Charity, the spiritual Sa-
 vour, upon the [heavenly] Altar. This he
 says where he is overthrowing all Preten-
 ces to voluptuous Perfumes. Pæd. l. II. c. 8.
 But he had been much more concerned to
 avoid the Objection from the Ecclesiastical
 Incense (if any such had been then used)
 which he could not deny to be literal. So
 he elsewhere defines the Sacrifice of the
 Church,*

Church, that it is, Λόγος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁγίων ψυχῶν ἀναθυμιάμενος, ἐκκαλυπτομένης ἅμα τῆς θυσίας καὶ τῆς διανοίας ἀπίσης τῷ Θεῷ. *Speech sent up in Incense from holy Souls, the whole Mind being exposed to God, together with the Sacrifice.* Strom. VII. And afterwards; the truly holy Altar, he says, is the just Soul, καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ πρὸς ὁσίαν δουλῶν, as S. John, and the Others now mentioned, explained it. Again: Δεῖ τοίνυν θυσίας προσφέρειν τῷ Θεῷ, μὴ πολυτελεῖς, ἀλλὰ θεοφιλεῖς· καὶ τὸ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ ἐκείνο τὸ σωφροντικόν τὸ ἐν τῷ νόμῳ, τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν γλωσσῶν καὶ φωνῶν καὶ πρὸς δουλῶν σκεύεισμα. *It is therefore our Duty to offer Sacrifices to God, not costly ones, but such as may be acceptable to God; and that compounded Incense mentioned in the Law, consisting of many Tongues and Voices in Prayer.* Accordingly his ἱερὸς ὅσιος τῷ Θεῷ is said, among other things, not to offer ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΩΝ πολυτελείαν πρὸς ὁσφρησιν γρητοδύεζ, *Costliness of Incenses, bewitching the Scent.* And to make all agree, he mysticizes the Fire also by which the Ecclesiastical Incense is to be offered. He says it is not the πῦρ τὸ παρασκευασμένον καὶ βανταύσον, ἀλλὰ τὸ φρόνισμα, τὸ διεικνύμενον διὰ τῆς ψυχῆς τῆς διερχομένης [forte διεικνύμενης] τὸ πῦρ. *The culinary Fire that feeds upon all things, but the intellectual one, which passes through the Soul that receives that Fire.* He

He could not so confidently, in arguing with *Adversaries*, have so appropriated the mystical Benefits of Incense to Christians, if Christians also had transacted by sensible Representations as well as the Heathens who did pretend to the same Benefits. Yet some of his Testimonies proceed further, expressly to deny those sensible Symbols. And accordingly he also elsewhere repeats the Words of Malachy concerning the pure Oblation without the Incense, Strom. V. p. 261. as conscious that the Christians had no visible Symbol of Incense.

22.
'And of S.
Cyprian.

S. Cyprian, in his first Book of Testimonies against the Jews, c. 16. has this Title: *Quod sacrificium vetus evacuetur, & novum celebraretur*, "that the antient Sacrifice was to be evacuated, and the new one to be received. And that under the Name of Sacrifice he includes Incense also, appears from your Text of Malachy, which he there produces in these Words: *Quoniam à solis ortu & usque in occasum clarificatum est nomen meum apud gentes, & in omni loco odores incensi offeruntur nomini meo, & sacrificium mundum; quoniam magnum est nomen meum apud gentes, dicit Dominus.* [This is translated in the English Text.] The Evacuation here mentioned is the same Word that was used by the Latin Interpreter of S. Barnabas, and signifies

nifies the same thing here as was intended by it in that Apostolical Author. That the former Law, as it excluded the Gentiles from mystical Privileges, should be repealed; and that the Gentiles should accordingly be admitted to those mystical Privileges, from which they had been formerly excluded by the Law of the Sacrifices then received among the Jews. So S. Cyprian himself uses that same Word in the Titles of c. 8. 13. of this same Book. But the Gentiles were never admitted to offer the legal Incense in the Temple: Much less were they permitted, by any known Law of the Supreme Being that was common to them and the Jews (as those which you are pleased to call Moral Laws must have been) to offer that Incense any where else but in the Place appointed by God himself for his own Worship. If these things had been permitted them by God, that had been an Indulgence greater than what had been allowed to his own People, who had the fairest Pretence to indefinite Indulgence. To be sure it had not been common to them both, and therefore could not have been a Law of Nature. Nor do I know one Instance that ever this Prophecy of Malachy was so understood by any Gentile Profelytes, or allowed by the Jewish Interpreters of their own Law, as the like Prophecy of
Isaiah

Isaiah was pretended and allowed in favour of the *Heliopolitans Temple* in Egypt. *Namaan* the Syrian did indeed desire some *Burdens* of the *Earth* of the *Holy Land* for erecting an *Altar* to the *God* of *Israel* in *Syria*. Because the *Law* principally approved an *Altar* made of *Earth*, Exodus XX. 24. But that *Altar* was for the other *Sacrifices*, not for the *Incense*. Nor do we read of any the like *copying* or *imitation* of the *golden Altar* used by any *Gentiles* in honour of the *God* of *Israel*, out of the *Holy Land*. The plain Meaning therefore of this *Prophecy*, intended by our holy *Martyr*, must have been, the *Removal* of that *Impediment* which bindred the *Prayers* of the *Gentiles* from being thought so acceptable to the *Supreme Being* as those of the *Jews* were. And that was the *confining* the *Prayers* themselves to that *Altar* of *Incense* which was in the *Power* of the *Jews*, not of the *Gentiles*. The Meaning therefore must be, that the *Prayers* of the *Gentiles*, without the *Altar*, should for the future be immediately as acceptable to the *Supreme Being* without the *confining Altar* and *Incense* at *Jerusalem*, as the *Prayers* of the *Jews* had formerly been with the *Altar* and the *Incense* offered at that *Altar*, as visible *Symbols* of the *Transaction* between *Heaven* and *Earth* in relation to the *Acceptance*

ceptance of the solemn Offices. This is a plain Account of the Need of that Evacuation, by the Doctrine of the Gospel, in order to the Acceptableness of the Prayers of all other Nations equal with that of the Jews. And it determines in this; That Prayers of qualified Persons should immediately ascend to the heavenly Throne of Grace without the symbolical Recommendation and Transaction for their Acceptance by Steams and Nidors to be raised by Fires to be made on Altars, which were also Hearths fitted for the Reception of those Fires. Which Reasoning plainly supposes the Acceptableness of such Prayers separate from such Altars and such Incense. If the Church had used such Altars and such Incense for recommending her own Prayers, though distinct from those of Jerusalem; that might have made a Change as to the Circumstances of Place and Persons concerned in the Act of transacting by the like Symbols, but could not have required an Evacuation of the former divine Constitution concerning the same Affair, such as is here supposed by our Blessed Martyr.

Origen was a little earlier than S. Cyprian. And as he died before him, so he wrote most of his Works before the other was a Christian. His Opinion concerning Incense we have in his Exhortation to Martyrdom, address'd

23.
And of
Origen.

P. 310.
Edit. Wet-
stenii:

address'd to his old Patron *Ambrose*, and *Prothetus*, that being the then received *Trial of the Martyrs*, whether they would *incense* the received Deities. So he: Ἐπεὶ δὲ τινες μὴ θεωρεῖντες τὸ κατὰ τῆς δαυμῶνων λόγον καὶ ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἀρχαίας ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ τέτρω καὶ κατελείψαντες ἀεὶ δειρόμενοι τροφῆς τῆς ἀρχαίας ἈΝΑΘΥΜΙΑΣΕΩΝ, ὁππότερ' οὖν κεν κινῶνται αἰεὶ καὶ ἀμύματα καὶ ΛΙΒΑΝΩΤΟΙ, ἐξουτελιζέουσιν ὡς ἀδιάφορον τὸ δύναι, εἰποιμὲν αὖ καὶ πρὸς ταῦτα. *But because some Persons, not considering what is said concerning Demons; and that they observe where there is any Nidor, or Blood, or Frankincense, as needing the Nourishment of such Steams, in order to their Continuance in this gross Air next the Earth: [Because I say on this account] they slight Sacrificing as an indifferent thing: Let us speak also to this Case.* He there makes *Fumigation* the same Case, as if a *Soldier of the Emperor's Army* should help the *Enemy* with *Provision*. So he goes on: Ὅτι εἴπερ οἱ τροφὰς ληστῶν, καὶ φονδύσι, καὶ βαρβάρους ἐχθροῖς καὶ μεγάλῃ βασιλείᾳ παρέχοντες, ὡς τὸ κρινόν ἀδικήσαντες καὶ ἀλάστοι, πῶς πλέον οἱ τοῖς τῆς κακίας ὑπερήταις, ἀρχαί καὶ δύναι, διδόντες τροφὰς ἀρχαί τε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ κατελείψαντες τόπω, δικαιοσύνη αὖ ἐγκαλοῦντο. *That, if they who send Provisions to Thieves, and Murderers, and the Barbarians, the Enemies of our great Prince, are punished as Offenders against*

against the Good of the Community; How much more worthily are they to be blamed, who, by sacrificing, give Nourishment to the Ministers of Mischief, by which Nourishment those Ministers are kept in this terrestrial Region? He makes them therefore accessory to all the Mischiefs that these Delighters in Mischief inflict, who enable them to continue in Earth, where they may be able to do such Hurt to Mankind, by their Nidors and Fumigations. Οἷμα γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτανολύοις ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμόνων ἐνεργούντων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐκ ἐλαττον ἐκκληνησέας τῶν ἐνεργούντων δαιμόνων τὰ χείρονα, ἄλλὰ τὸ δοῦν δρέψαντες αὐτὲς. They are, in my Opinion, no less to be blamed, in relation to the Mischiefs done to Mankind by the Devils who possess them, who nourish those Devils by their Sacrifice, than the Devils themselves who are the Authors of those very naughty things by their Possession. He gives his Reason for this common Charge: Οἰοεὶ γὰρ κοινῇ κατεποίησαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οἷτε δαίμονες καὶ οἱ κατὰ πόδας αὐτὲς ἐπὶ γῆς, μὴ ἂν δυνάμεντας διαρκεῖσαι χωρὶς τῶν ἈΝΑΘΥΜΙΑΣΕΩΝ καὶ τῶν νομιζομένων ἐν καὶ ἀλλήλων [i. κατὰ ἀλλήλων] τερφῶν τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν. The Devils, and they who detain them upon the Earth, as it were, act in common upon the Men who suffer by the Devils; considering, that the Devils would not otherwise have been able to maintain

their Station without those Steams, and usual Nourishments which are adapted to the Bodies of those Demons. You see how this learned Father confutes the Elcesaits, Basilidians, and other Hereticks, who pretended Sacrifice, Incense, and Libations, to be only indifferent things, as being only a giving Meat to their hungry Enemy, and Drink to him when he was thirsty, for which they might pretend that Saying of our Lord himself requiring them to do so: You see how he reasons against them, as granting them the Principles on which themselves reasoned, that this way of Worship, even by Incense, was never reckoned among those which had been appropriated by the Supreme Being to himself, as suitable to the Dignity of his own Nature, but to exclude even tutelar subordinate Beings from all Worship, as even created Tutelars over his own Peculium, when he had resolved to take them into his own immediate Patronage. This Reason (by the by) you will easily perceive how far it will affect the Practice of the modern Church, in the Worship of Saints and Angels, and the Blessed Virgin. It was only for such inferior created Demons that this Worship by Incense was originally intended, by this Reasoning of Origen. For such, as were by their Nature capable of being nourished, or

receiving

receiving some *sensual Delight* by it. These had been (by their own Confession) *Reflections* on the *Supreme Being*, not *Honour* to him, if, while they had these *Opinions* of *Thurification*, they had notwithstanding, even *then*, presumed to pay that *Worship* to him. And that, *without* any new Signification of his *Pleasure* to accept of it under the *Gospel*, after his former Establishment under the *Law*, had as much excluded it from our *Ecclesiastical Assemblies*, as the other *legal Sacrifices* themselves. This *Reasoning* made them *Demons*, not only in the *lowest*, but the very *worst* Signification of that Word, as it signified *Hostility* to him, and therefore could not, with any Pretence of *good meaning*, be ascribed to the *Supreme Being*, whilst themselves *upbraided* the *Gods* that were so *worshipped*, as well as the *People* that paid such *pretended Honours* to those *Beings* whom they *owned* for their *Tutelar Patrons*, and *pretended* to be their *Gods*. This plainly clears what the *Fathers* so frequently insist on otherwise, That *God* never *accepted* of these *Ways of Worship*, with any *primary Intention*, as believing them any way *suitable* to the *Dignity* of his own *Nature*, but purely with a *secondary Intention*, that, *when* they were once received as *Tokens* of *Divine Worship*, and

misapplied; he might appropriate them to himself, and might thereby exclude all subordinate created Patronages from the publick Offices of his own Peculium, as despotick Disposers of any publick Benefits which were to be impetrated by Prayers, or for which Publick Thanksgivings were to be returned. Yet this hinders not the ministerial Offices of Angels which is owned in the Scriptures, even in the Peculium.

24.
And of
Arnobius.

Arnobius wrote a considerable while after S. Cyprian; even in the Beginning of the Persecution of Diocletian, in the Beginning of the fourth Century. Yet neither does he seem to have known any thing of the Practice of Thurification received in the Church, even at that distance from the Age of the Apostles. He is so far from owning that Antiquity of Frankincense which you are pleased to ascribe to it, to make it a Law of Nations derived from Patriarchal Tradition, and even from Adam; that he makes it but late in relation to the Time wherein himself wrote. His Words are these: *Novella propemodum res est, neque annorum inexplicabilis series, ex quo ejus notitia profluxit in has partes; & delubris meruit interesse Divinis. Nam neque temporibus, quemadmodum creditur & perhibetur, Heroicis, quidnam esset Tus scitum est, scriptoribus ut comprobatur à priscis, quorum in*
Libris

Libris nulla ejus mentio reperitur: neque genitrix & mater superstitionis Etruria opinionem ejus novit aut famam, sacellorum ut indicant ritus: neq; quadringentis annis, quibus Albana res viguit, in usum cuiquam venit, sacra cum res fieret: neq; ipse Romulus, aut, Religionibus artifex in comminiscendis, Numa, aut esse scivit, aut nasci: ut pium far monstrat, quo peragi mos fuit sacrificiorum sollemnium munia. "It is almost a No-

“ velty, nor are the Years incapable of
 “ being adjusted, since the knowledge of
 “ it came into these Parts, and that the
 “ Use of it was received into Temples.
 “ For neither did they, as is believed and
 “ reported, know what *Frankincense* was
 “ in the Age of the Heroes, as appears
 “ from the Writings of the Antients, who
 “ make no mention of it in their Books.
 “ Nor had *Hetruria*, the Parent and Mo-
 “ ther of Superstition, any Notice or Re-
 “ port of it, as the Rites of their Chapels
 “ shew. Nor was it in use with any, du-
 “ ring the space of the 400 Years, before
 “ the Ruin of *Longa Alba*, in sacred Of-
 “ fices. Nor did *Romulus* himself, or
 “ *Numa* the Inventor of Religious Cere-
 “ monies, know that [*Frankincense*] had
 “ any Existence, or grew [like other
 “ Plants] as appears in this, that Corn
 “ was then called Pious, as being that
 “ by

“ by which the Duties of solemn Sa-
 “ crifices were then, according to the re-
 “ ceived Custom, to be performed. He
 afterwards applies it: *Sin autem temporibus*
priscis, neque homines, neque Dii hujus Tu-
ris expetivere materiam, comprobatur &
hodie frustra illud inaniterque præstari, quod
neque Antiquitas necessarium credidit, & sine
ullis novitas rationibus appetivit, Lib. VII.
 p. 231, 232. “ But if, in antient times,
 “ neither Men nor Gods desired this Ma-
 “ terial of *Frankincense*; it thence appears
 “ that it is, at this day, offered vainly
 “ and impertinently, considering that An-
 “ tiquity did not believe it necessary, and
 “ Novelty has introduced it without any
 “ [sufficient] Reasons. This really seems
 to be the most accurate Account of this
 Matter from the best Roman Writers, which
 are herein followed by *Arnobius*. He tells
 us, That the Use of *Frankincense* was not
known in the Age of the Heroes. *Pliny* al-
 so tells us the same. Speaking concern-
 ing Ointments, he says: *Iliacis temporibus*
non erant; nec thure supplicabatur. Nat.
 Hist. XIII. 1. “ They were not in use in
 “ the time of the Trojan War, nor was
 “ there then any *Frankincense* in their so-
 “ lemn Prayers. *Homer* is their Author
 for those Times of the Heroes in the Tro-
 jan War. And he never mentions *Frank-*
incense

incense nor *Aromata*. From whence they gather, that they were not even *then* received among the *Greeks*. He adds further, That *Frankincense* was unknown to the *Ancestors* of the *Romans*, the *Albans*, from whom the *Romans* derived their *Colony* under *Romulus* and *Remus*. So that the *Romans* could not derive the Use of it from *them*. He denies it also to have been known to the *Etrurians*, from whom the *Romans* were known to have derived many *Civil*, as well as *Religious* Rites, on account of the *Tarquins*, who came immediately from *Etruria* to *Rome*. But especially their *Aruspicina* and their *Sacred Ludi* of the *Histriones*. He derives it *lower* yet. He makes even *Numa*, the principal Former of their *Religion*, utterly ignorant of the *sacred* Use of *Frankincense*. He denies him *aut esse scivisse, aut nasci*. So that the *Epocha* of *Numa* is not to be taken for the *Time* wherein it *was* known, but *before* which it could *not* be known. This he proves from the Use of the *Pium Far* then, the same way used by *Numa* for consecrating his *Sacrifices*, as the *Pium Tus* afterwards, which succeeded in the Use of it in *later* more *luxurious* Times. Of this *Pium Far* the same *Pliny* makes *Numa* the first *Inventor*: *Numa instituit Deos fruge colere & molâ salsâ supplicare, atque (ut Au-*

For est Hemina) far torrere, quoniam tostum cibo salubrius esset. Id uno modo consecutum statuendo non esse purum ad rem Divinam, nisi tostum. Is & Fornacalia instituit, farris torrendi feriis. Nat. Hist. XVIII. 2. " Numa ordered that the Gods should be honoured with Corn; and that solemn Prayers should be made to them with salted Meal; and (as Hemina tells us) that the Corn should be roasted, because it is more wholesome to be used as Food, when it is roasted. He also instituted the Festival of the Fornacalia, as the Solemnities wherein they were to roast their Corn [at the Fornaces for these sacred Purposes.] This seems to have been the Greek ἐρόχυλα in Homer, of Barly, before the Invention of Wheat. And might have been taken for an Antiquity by Homer, whom I take to have been later than Numa. Yet, even in the time of Tullus Hostilius, the Fecialis, who officiated in the League between him and the Albans, makes use of neither the Far Pium, nor the Tus Pium, but the Verbena, the Herba Pura. Liv. Lib. I. c. 24. which Theophrastus, as we have seen before, makes the antientest Sacrifice. And indeed the 400 Years ascribed by Arnobius to the Albans, ended in the time of Tullus Hostilius, who put an End to that Kingdom. It might there-

therefore have been some considerable time after Numa, that this Custom of *Incensing* came among the *Romans*. Yet it is utterly condemned by *Arnobius*, which could not have been if the Church of his Age had practised it.

Lactantius, the *Christian Cicero*, set out his first Edition near the time of his Master *Arnobius*; though his second Edition, dedicated to *Constantine the Great*, was some little while after. He is also clear in this Particular, of condemning *Frankincense*. And that, even from *Hermes Trismegistus*, the Author of the *Egyptian Philosophy*. His Words are these: *Item in illo sermone perfecto: Cum exaudisset Asclepium quarentem à filio suo, utrum placeret Patri ejus offerri thus & alios odores ad sacrificium Dei, exclamavit: Bene, bene, ominare, O Asclepi: Est enim maxima impietas, tale quid de uno illo ac singulari bono in animum inducere. Hæc, & his similia, huic non conveniunt. Div. Inst. VI. 25.* " And in " that Discourse which has the Title of " *Λοῖον τελεον*, when he had heard *Æsculapius* enquiring of his own Son, whether it would be acceptable to his Father, that *Frankincense* and other Odors should be offered at the Sacrifice of God, he cried out; God avert the Omen, O *Æsculapius*. For it is an Impiety of the " highest

25.
And of
Lactantius

“ highest nature, so much as to think of
 “ any such thing concerning that one and
 “ only good Being. These things and
 “ the like do, by no means, agree to him.
 And his Sense is represented to the same
 purpose in his Epitome : *Illa quæ aut digi-
 tis fiunt, aut extra hominem sunt, inepta,
 fragilia, ingrata sunt. Hoc est sacrificium
 verum, non quod ex arcâ, sed quod ex corde,
 profertur ; non quod manu, sed quod mente,
 libatur. Hæc acceptabilis victima est, quam
 de seipso animus immolat. Nam quid hostiæ ?
 quid thura ? quid vestes ? quid aurum ? quid
 argentum ? quid pretiosi lapides conferunt, si
 colentis pura mens non est ? Sola ergo ju-
 stitia est, quam Deus expetit. Epitom. c. 2.*
 “ Those things which are either made
 “ with Hands, or without the Man, are
 “ foolish, frail, and unacceptable. This
 “ is the true Sacrifice, which comes not
 “ out of the Chest, but out of the Heart ;
 “ not that which is sacrificed by the Hand,
 “ but by the Mind. This is the most
 “ grateful Victim which the Mind offers
 “ of it self. For what Benefit is there
 “ of Sacrifices ? What of *Incenses* ? What
 “ of Vestments ? What of Gold ? What
 “ of Silver ? What of precious Stones, if
 “ the Mind of the Worshipper be not
 “ pure ? This therefore alone is that Ju-
 “ stice which God requires from us. The

com-

commonly received *Egyptian Offices* were full of *Fumigations*, as appears from *Plutarch's* Account of them in his *de Iside & Osiride*, and the *Hymns* commonly ascribed to *Orpheus*, which seem to have been sung when those *Fumigations* were performed. For *Orpheus* was reckoned among those *Greeks*, who derived their *Philosophy* from the *Egyptians*. But these *Hermetical Writings*, which seem to have appeared after the coming of our *Saviour*, refine beyond that which had been received by the *Egyptians* from the *Traditions* of their *Ancestors*, by making it more *Mystical* and *Enthusiastical* and *Theurgical* than what had been derived by them from their *Ancestors*. And they seem to come nearer to the *Opinions* of the *Pythagoreans*, so far as there was any *difference* between those two *Se&ts*, in that which was then called their *Theology*. But it is not the *Opinion* of the pretended *Trismegistus* that I insist on, any farther than it is owned by *Lactantius*, for the common *Opinion* of the *Christians* of that *Age*, which you see is full in *condemning* all such *consumptive Oblations*, and *Incense* particularly, as *unworthy* of being used in the *Worship* of the *Supreme Being*.

A little after these, *Eusebius* expounds 26.
your Text of *Incense* in *Malachy*, of no
Incense And of *Eusebius*.

Incense but what is mystical. Καὶ δὲ καὶ θυμιαμαὶ τὸ προφητικὸν θυμίαμα, ἐν παντί τόπω προσκομίζοντες αὐτὰ τὸ δῶδε καρπὸν τὸ παναρέτε θεολογίας, ἀλλὰ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν δούλων ἀναφέροντες. *Demonst. Evang. l. i. p. 40.* Accommodating thereunto the Passage of the Psalmist: Γενηθήτω ἡ προσδοχὴ μου ὡς θυμίαμα ἐνώπιόν σου, as ignorant of any other more literal Sense wherein that Prophecy was, even then fulfilled among the Gentiles. Elsewhere, having mentioned the Care of Moses for grateful Smells in the Offices of Religion, he represents the Gospel as having quite another Design. Οὐκ ἐν τῷ ἡδὺ τῶν σωματίων ἔλετο, ἐδ' αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ πρὸς ἑκείνους ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀγέδων πρὸς ἡμᾶς. *L. IV. c. 15. p. 172.* He has therefore not chosen that sweet Scent which proceeds from Bodies: nor has he given any Preference to what is delightful to the Senses, as it is considered by it self. Again: Τὴν τῷ ὑλικῶν σωματίων ὀσμὴν ἐν ἑδρῇ τεθεῖται λόγῳ. Ταῦτα ἐν δὲ μέγα διελήφως ὁ Προφήτης, μύρων μὲν καὶ καὶ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΩΝ μηδεμίαν προσηνυμένῳ ἐποίητο φρονίδια. He has no Value for the Scent which proceeds from material Bodies. These therefore the Prophet has very fitly included: He does not indeed make any great account of Unguents and Incenses. I need not repeat out of Eusebius what himself has transcribed out of the forementioned Passage of Porphyry

Porphyry and Theophrastus with Approbation.

He has enough to my purpose where he speaks in his *own* Person as a *Christian*, yet approving that *Doctrine* of *Porphyry*. He represents it as that *Philosopher's* *Doctrine*, and approves it;

Ομολογῇ μὴ δεῖν τὸ καθόλου μηδὲν μήτε θυμᾶν, μήτε δύνειν τὰς ὅπῃ πᾶσι θεῶ· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν θείας καὶ ὑφανίας δυνάμεσιν. *Præp. Ev. L. IV. c. 10.* He owns that

we ought not at all, to offer any Incense, or Sacrifice, to the Supreme God; nor even to the divine and heavenly Powers that are under him. This is directly against the present Practice of both Churches, Eastern as well as Western. Yet he gives it as the Practice

of the Church of his own Age, concerning the Worship of God and his blessed δυνάμεις, that they then performed it, ἔδεν ἡμεῖς καὶ νεκρὸν, ἔδεν λυθρεὺς καὶ αἷμα, ἔδεν πῖφθαρτὴς καὶ ὑλικῆς ἰσίας ἐπαϊόμενοι. *Ib.* Offering

nothing that is earthly and lifeless, nor Sores and Blood, nor any sort of a corruptible and material Nature. Afterwards, μήτε τὰς ὅπῃ πάντων θεῶ, μήτε τῷ μετ' αὐτὸν θείας δυνάμεσι ἡμεῖς μηδὲν, μήτε ΘΥΜΙΑΝ, μήτε δύνειν. *Ib.*

That we ought not, by way either of Incense or Sacrifice, to offer any thing that is earthly to the Supreme God, or to the Divine Powers that are next to him. The same Doctrine he delivers, and with the like Approbation, from the famous Pythagorean

Apollonius

Apollonius Tyaneus, the Idea of *Theurgical Philosophy*, whom *Hierocles* the Judge set up as a Rival to our Saviour, but was confuted in that Attempt by this same *Eusebius*. Concerning the Supreme Being, the excellent Words of that Impostor out of his Book of *Sacrifices* were: Μη δύοι τι πᾶσι ἀρχῶν, μήτε ἀνάπτοι πῦρ, μήτε ἁγιάζει τι τῶν ἀδυστῶν ἐπονομαζοι. Let him not sacrifice at all, or kindle a Fire, or consecrate any thing of the whole kind of sensible Beings. And he gives a Reason, which makes such Oblations not unacceptable only, but polluting and affronting: Οὐδ' ἔστιν ὁ πᾶσι ἀρχῶν ἀνίστα γὰρ φυτὸν, ἢ τρέφει ζῶον, ἢ ἀνὴρ, ὁ μὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν γένη [γ' ἔστι] μίσημα. Pr. Ev. IV. 13. Nor is there any Plant produced by the Earth at first, or any Animal that is nourished by it, or in the Air, which is not a Pollution, [if offered to him.]

27.
And of
S. Athanasius.

So also S. *Athanasius* in his Epistle to the Monks takes incensing the Episcopal Throne and the Holy Table as a Profanation of them, and as designed for an Affront to them and to the Christian Religion by the Heathens, who were set on by the Edict of *Constantius* in favour of the Arian Bishop, to dispossess the Catholics of those Churches which were, by that Prince's Order, to be delivered to the Heretick Rival. But, being sensible that the Arian Interest was then

then too weak in Alexandria to manage openly for themselves without the Pagans, who then appeared very powerful, by the Massacre of George the Arian Bishop soon after; that Interest was made use of to introduce the Arian Bishop then recommended by Constantius. To oblige them therefore to help the Hereticks against the Catholics, they were threatned (in case of Refusal) with the Extirpation of their Idols, and the Deprivation of their Share in the *Annona* of that City. But to qualify themselves for that Service, the Heathens were so far obliged to act the part of Christians, without which they could not pretend to any Right in making a Party for a Christian, tho a Heretick, Bishop. This is the Force and Hypocrisy of which S. Athanasius there complains. And, in order to bring in the Heretick, the Arians not only connived at, but favoured all the Affronts that were cast upon the Person of S. Athanasius. But these Pagan Tools quickly forgot the Part they were to act of personated Arians, and turned, what was pretended in favour of one Party of Christians assisting them against another, to the Dishonour of that common Cause of Christianity wherein both were agreed. This made them incense the Ensigns of the Episcopal Dignity of S. Athanasius, which so far

far gratified the real *Arians*, as it made his Episcopal Office as *hateful* to the *Christians* of their *own* Party, as it would have rendered his *Person detestable* if he had defiled it *himself* with the like *Thurification*. But the *Heathens*, who only acted herein the part of *Arians*, advanced it higher to the Advantage of their *own* real Cause. They took it for an Argument of the *Power* of their *own* false *Gods*, that *Christians* themselves were so far *blinded* by the *Transports* of a *Faction* among *themselves*, as to *assist* them in making *Christianity* as much *abhorred* by *one* Party, that professed that *same* Religion, as *themselves* wished it might be to the *opposite* Party also, which was *offended* and *scandalized* at this *Liberty* which was allowed their *common Enemies* to the *Prejudice* of their *common Cause*. So the same *Thurification* which *profaned* the *Christian Sacra*, was by *them* intended as an *Eucharistical Sacrifice* of Acknowledgment of the *Power* of their *own Gods* in making the *Christians* thus *accessary* to their *own* Ruin. That is the Father's meaning in those Words: Τα π γδ εἰδωλα ἐαυτῶν δὲ φήμεν. p.848. For they celebrated the Praises of their Idols. Like the triumphal Festivities over Sampson, and the Ark of God, when they were taken by the Philistines, and Belshazzar in his Profanation

tion of the *holy Vessels* of the *Temple*. Such *Hymns*, or *New Songs*, (in the *sacred Style*) being the usual *Appendages* of such solemn *Eucharistical Sacrifices*. This Joy of these *Heathen Arians* (if I may so call them) so far transported them in their *sacred Fury* (as it was called, and very well deserved the Name) that nothing hindered them from the *major hostia* but the *Sex* of the *Beast* that came next to hand, which, by the *Superstition* of those *Egyptians*, exempted it from that *Use* of it. So far they had, by that time, *forgotten* the *personated Christianity* they were then obliged to act. As therefore this *open partial Favour* to the *encroaching Heretical Bishop*, whose *Heresy* had been *condemned* by his *Father* in the *Nicene Council*, made the *Catholicks* themselves take *Constantius* for a *Heretick*; so, it was as *natural* for those *insulting Heathens*, finding such, not *Impunity* only, but *Favour*, from the *Ministers* of the *Emperor*, to conclude, that *He* also and his *Brethren* of the *Arian Communion*, were *Pagans* also. So their Words import, as they are reported by the *Father*, *pag. 848.* Ἐμὲν γὰρ οὐ Κωνσταντῖνον, καὶ οἱ Ἀρειανοὶ τοὺς ἑαυτῶν ἐπὶ γυνώσκοντες. *Constantius is become a Heathen, and the Arians are of our Mind.* And they give their Reason for that Surmise in the Words immediately following: Οὐ

φρονιζοντες οὐδὲ ἐμμελισμὸν ἀποκρίνας, ἵνα
 μὴν ἢ ἀφραδίας ἔχῃ τὴν οὐσίαν. *For they make*
no Scruple to act the Part of Heathens, pro-
vided that their Heresy may be established.
They speak this rather with regard to the
Profanation of the Christian sacred Uensils,
by the Frankincense, which was actually
performed, than to the bloody Sacrifice
which went no farther than a Design.
How that would have been taken by the
Prince they knew not, but were emboldened
to the Design by the favourable Acceptance
they found, of what was done by them,
in the Executors of the Imperial Edit,
who ought to have punished them for so
great Presumption if they had known it to
have been disagreeable to the Mind of the
Prince himself. But there could have been
no Ground of any of these Reasonings, if
the Practice of the Church of that Age had
been the same as it is now in this particular
of Incense. The Arians themselves would
not have been pleased with it if it had
been used as an Argument of Respect to
them on account of the Consecration they
had received under Athanasius. Nor would
the Pagans have burnt or broken them, if
they had designed any Respect to them.
That which pleased the Arians in the Case
was, no doubt, that Incensing was, in the
Opinion of the Christians, taken for a high
 degree

degree of *Piacular Defecration*, like that of the *Israelites* to the *Worshippers of Baal* in making their *Temples Draught-houses*, and burning dead *Mens Bones* upon their *Altars*, or that of the *Samaritans* to the *Jews* themselves in strowing their celebrated *Temple* with dead *Mens Bones*, among whom the touching a dead *Carcase* was sufficient for contracting a *legal Pollution*, which made them *uncapable of communicating* in the *Temple-Worship* till they were *restored* by a solemn *legal Expiation*. Nor could these *Heathen Hypocrites* have been supposed to betray their *Ill-will* to the Cause of *Christianity* in general, in *Incensing*, whilst they pretended a *Zeal* for a *Christian Bishop* of the *Arian Communion*. Much less could it have been taken for an *Argument* that the *Emperor Constantius* himself was kindly affected to the *Heathen Worship* because of his *encouraging* it; if any but *Heathens* had used that *Custom*. Such *odious Interpretations* could not have been made to the *Dishonour* of the *Emperor* himself for this *Prevarication* of his *Officers*; if the same thing had then been usual among those who were so far from any *Suspicion* of *Disrespect* to those *Appendages* of *Divine Worship*, as that, on the contrary, they professed the profoundest *Veneration* for them for their honourable *Relation*

they had to *him*, in honouring of whom it was *impossible* for them to exceed their *Duty*. And this with all *Veracity* and *Consistency* with *Principles*, not like these *Heathen Politicians*, who thus compounded for their *Idols* by contributing their Endeavours to make way for the *Reception* of a *Christian Heretical Bishop*, as the *less Evil* of the two, when they were obliged to do so, or quit their beloved *Idols*. Such Reasonings could not be grounded but on the utmost *Detestation* of this *Practice* among *Christians*. This alone could make them believe, that *Constantius*, in this *Connivence*, acted the Part rather of a *Persecutor*, than a *Patron* of the *Christian Religion*. As believing this *Profanation* of Things devoted to the Name of *Christ* impossible to have been the Case of any but an inveterate *Enemy* of that same sacred Name. Yet this great Father does not only signify his *own* Opinion of this *Fact*. He speaks here rather as a *Witness* than as a *Judge*, though there was none to whose *Judgment* *Catholicks* of his *own Age*, as well as of *Posterity*, have paid a greater *Deference*. By these popular Reasonings, as well of the *insulting Pagans*, as of the *oppressed Catholicks*, it appears to have been agreed on both hands, that *Incensing* was so far from becoming the Per-
son

son of any Christian, of what Rank soever, that he could *not* be taken for a sincere Christian who, though he did not practise it, yet seemed at least, to countenance it, or *not* to declare his utmost Dislike of it. Nay, that he was taken for an Enemy of Christianity it self, who could endure it knowingly, with Patience, and without Signification of his just Resentment of it. So the Pagans, as well as the Catholicks, understood it, when they make Constantius himself, in suffering this, to act the Part of a Hypocrite, as well as themselves, in acting the Part of Arians. They make it an Argument of his being as insincere in his pretended Zeal for the Christian Religion, that he could endure their own Affronts of it, in so publick a way, as themselves were in their personated Arianism. So their Words, now mentioned, import, That Constantius had thereby made himself an Heathen (that is the Notion of ἑθνηστικὸς in this place) and that his Arian Brethren had thereby owned the Truth of the Doctrines of Heathenism. That also is the Meaning of ἑθνηστικὸν ἀποκρίναντες in the New Testament, and the Style derived from it. They make it therefore a counterfeited Heathenism, ἑθνηστικὸν ἀποκρίναντες, that they were not concerned at these publick Insults of the Christian Religion by its known and

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professed

professed Adversaries, provided that they might thereby settle their own *Heresy* in a Place where it was so publicly detested and decried. It plainly signified, that *they* who had a *hand* in these Disorders, had conceived a greater *Dislike* of the *Catholick Orthodoxy*, than even of the *Heathen Idolatry*. So odious then was this Practice of *Incensing* to all that had any true Notions of the *Christian Religion*, by the Confession of *Enemies*, as well as *Friends*.

28.
And of
S. Basil.

S. Basil's Words on that Prophecy concerning the *Sacrifices* literally understood, are very plain. Ἡ μὲν ἐν σωματικῶς νομισμῇ, καὶ προσφερομῇ καὶ τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν τέρας σεμίδαλις, μάταιον τὸ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ ὅ [the same way understood as before, that is, σωματικῶς] ἤδη καὶ βδελυμὰ ἔστι τῷ κυρίῳ. Βδελυκτὸν γὰρ τῷ ὄντι οἶέμεν τὰς ἀγὰς ὁσφρήσεως ἡδονὰς καὶ θεὸν δηρώμενον, τὸ ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΟΣ πλὴν σωιδεσιν προσεταχέναι, καὶ μὴ νοεῖν ὅτι ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ κυρίῳ ὃ ἐν σώματι ἀγιασμός, καὶ τὸ καὶ ψυχῇ σωφροσύνης ἐπιτελέμενον. S. Basil. in II. p. 835. For the fine Flour which is offered, according to the Custom of the Jews, being understood corporeally, is a vain thing; and the Incense is also now an Abomination to the Lord. For it is truly an abominable thing to think that God values Delights of the Smelling Faculty, or that he therefore required the Composition requisite for his Incense;

cense; and not to understand that the Sanctification of the Body, performed by the Temperance of the Soul, is an Incense to the Lord. Afterwards again: Τὸ ὁσμητικὸν ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ, καὶ τοῖς καὶ τὰς μωκτικὰς πόροις ἐμπύλον, καὶ πρὸς ἀσπασιν οὐλινῶν, βδελύσκει τὸ ἀσώματον ἐκείνως νερόμεται. Ib. But the corporeal Incense, which also affects the Nostrils, and moves the Sense, is very consequently taken for an Abomination to a Being that is incorporeal. He could not say so, if even corporeal Incense had been then received in the Ecclesiastical Offices of the Eastern Church in that Age.

For my part, I cannot think it earlier in these Parts, than might make it taken for an immemorial Custom, and therefore presumed, on no better Proof than that, to have been an Apostolical Tradition in that Age wherein the present Body of the pretended Apostolical Constitutions was collected, of which these Canons, which have the Name of Apostolical, were manifestly the last Chapter. Even S. Cyril of Alexandria, so famous in the third General Council, seems ignorant of any such Custom in his own Age, near the middle of the fifth Century. Upon the now frequently mentioned Text of Isaiah, he gives the Reason why the Jews could not be permitted to tread God's Courts, in these Words: Εἰς τὰς

29.
And of S.
Cyril of
Alexan-
dria.

χθεῖεν ὃς ἂν ἤκιστα γε σεμίδαλιν ἐλαγόδουτον, καὶ τὸ
 ἀγδοτήτων ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ προσάγειν ἐδέλοντες. Με-
 μνήμεθα ὃς δεῦ λένειτο πρὸ αὐτῶ· βδέλυγμα
 μοι ἔστιν. L. I. Comm. in II. Orat. I. p. 14.
*For they would not be accepted who should
 bring in fine Flour to be mingled with Oil, or
 sensible Incense. For we remember the Words
 of God concerning it: It is an Abomination
 to me. To this he opposes the ΘΥΜΙΑ-
 ΜΑ πνόυματιχόν, spiritual Incense, of the
 Christians as the only acceptable one, τὸ ὅτι
 εἰκὲς εἰς τρέπες, τὴν ἀγάπην, τὴν φιλαλληλίαν,
 τὴν ὑπομονὴν, τὴν ἐγκράτειαν, καὶ πρὸς γε τῶν
 ἄλλων, τὴν πίσιν. Τοιαύτας δυσίας διαρετταται
 Θεός. Ib. p. 15. Meekness of Manners, Cha-
 rity, Love of each other, Patience, Tempe-
 rance, and, above all other things, Faith.
 With these Sacrifices God is well pleased. So
 also upon the Words of Malachy, he makes
 it relate to the Times of the Gospel, and
 the mystical Incense mentioned by him on
 Isaiah: Οὐτε μὲν ραθύμως προσκομίζοντων
 αὐτῷ τὰς πνόυματιχὰς λατρείας· ἀλλ' ἐν σωφρο-
 νίᾳ καὶ ὁπικείᾳ, καὶ ἀγιασμῷ, τὰς τῶν ΝΟΗΤΩΝ
 ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑΤΩΝ δωδίας ἀνακομίζειν ἐσπυδα-
 κήτων, τυτίσι πίσιν, ἐλπίδα, ἀγάπην, καὶ τὰ ἐκ
 ἔργων ἀγαθῶν ἀντήματα. P. 830. For Boast-
 ings do not belong to them who carelessly offer
 unto him spiritual Oblations; but who do di-
 ligently, and in earnest, and holily, take
 care to bring him the sweet Smells of mystical
 Incense,*

Incensing no Apostolical Tradition.

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Incense, that is, Faith, Hope, Charity, and the Glory of good Works. The same way he answers the Emperor Julian the Apostate, when that wicked Prince upbraids the Christians with the Want of those Sacrifices which the Jews had, by their own Confession, received from God by Moses, among which this of Incense was one. He

replies: Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἀμαρτῶν Ἰσραὴλ, βῆς π καὶ οἷς, τρυγῶνας καὶ περὶ πρῶτον, καὶ μέγιστον τὰ δὲ ὡρῶν, καὶ σμύδαλιν ἐλαφοβραχῆν, πόπανα, καὶ ΛΙΒΑΝΩΤΟΥΣ προσεκομίζοντο τῷ Θεῷ. ἡμεῖς δὲ ἔτι παλαιὰν ἀφέντες λατρείαν ἰσχυρῶς καὶ ἀπεξοσμύδην, νοητικῶς καὶ πνευματικῶς ἀποπληρῶν προσεπάγμεθα. Προσκομίζομεν γὰρ εἰς ὁσμὴν δωδίας τῷ Θεῷ πάντα τρόπον ἐπεικείας, πίσιν, ἐλπίδα, ἀγάπην, δικαιοσύνην, ἐγκράτειαν, τὸ δὲ πειθεῖς, καὶ δούλιον, ἀκαταλήκτους δοξολογίας, καὶ τὰς ἑτέρας τῶν ἀρετῶν. Ἀυλοτάτη γὰρ αὕτη θυσία τῷ Χρῆστί φῦσιν ἀπλῶς καὶ αὐτῷ ὡς πρέπει τῷ Θεῷ καὶ νοητῆς δωδίας ἀναθήματα, ἢ ἀληθεῖς δόξαι οἱ τρόποι. Lib. X. cont. Julian. p. 345.

They who are of the Blood of Israel offered to God Bees and Sheep, Turtles and Pigeons, and Fruits, and Flour moistened with Oyl, Cakes, and Incenses. But we are commanded to omit so gross a Service, and to perform a more subtle and exact one, that is Intellectual and Spiritual. For we offer every sweet savour of our Manners to God, Meekness, Faith, Hope, Charity, Righteousness, Temperance,
ready

ready Obedience and Governableness, everlasting Praises, and the like [Oblations] of Virtues. For this Sacrifice, as being pure from Matter, becomes God, who, by his own Nature, is simple and free from Matter. And Manners are the Offerings of intellectual Perfumes to the truly happy Life. You see, Sir, how constant this great Prelate is to himself, in undervaluing all sensible and material Oblations, of this lower sublunary Matter, as unworthy the Dignity and Acceptance of a pure spiritual and immaterial Being. You see how, to avoid this, he mysticizes and spiritualizes all the Oblations of the Christians into Christian Virtues, rather than into any thing that might seem to have Affinity with sublunary Matter and Sense. Especially that might seem to suffer any Consumption by its Oblation, as if the Deity, rather than the Sacrificers, might seem to enjoy the Benefit of it. So far he is from that, that he mysticizes, in the same place, even the Fire also, without which it was impossible any Fumigation could be made. This he makes to be the Divine Spirit, which, though it destroys nothing that is sanctified by it, yet is really the Original of all mystical and perfective Sanctifications. And herein he clearly answers the Objection of the Pagan Emperor, who imputed this Want of Sacrifices among

among the *Christians* to their being destitute of the *Fire from Heaven*, by which the *Sacrifices* were to be consecrated, which *Fire from Heaven* that Prince took for a Favour, wherein he thought the *Christians* would think themselves obliged to own themselves inferior to their *Predecessors* under the *Mosaical Dispensation*. But in vain, even by the *Reasonings* of *Theophrastus* and *Porphyry*, of which you have already received an Account in the Beginning of this Discourse. There you may find that the Reason, why *Fire* was particularly appointed for the *Instrument* of their *consumptive Consecrations*, was, because that *Fire* was taken for the most agreeable *Representative* of *eternal* and *divine Beings* of any thing that was it self of a *sublunary Extraction*. It is it self easily perpetuated, if it may be supply'd with a *Fewel* perpetually as it needs it, which no other *sublunary Being* can pretend to. It mounts upwards naturally to the Region of such *divine Beings*, and carries up what is dissolved by it beyond the Reach of our *corporeal Senses*, which naturally puts us in mind of the *νοητα*, which are *νοητὰ ἀσώματα*, and therefore most naturally to be expected there, where our *terrestrial Senses* fail us. But these things only qualified it to be an *Ægyptal Symbol*, but by no means to be compared

pared with the *Archetypal Exemplar* which is represented by it as the true *Original* of all *mystical Consecration*, the *divine Spirit* it self, the *heavenly Light* and *Fire*, which is to perform what had been only represented and stipulated by that *Fire* which was only *culinary* and *symbolical*. The Father therefore justly prefers the *Descent* of the *Spirit* it self, in *Pentecost*, in favour of the *new Peculium* before the *Descent* of the *elementary Fire* in the *Cases* of *Solomon* and *Elijah* under the *Jews*. He could not have written thus against all *sensible Incense* and *sensible Fire* in the *Oblations* then offered to the *Supreme Being*, if it had been then the known *Practice* of the *Church* to use them; if himself had been obliged to do so as a *Metropolitan* of the *supreme Patriarchal Dignity*. It would, on the contrary, have raised a *publick Scandal*, if, whilst these *Reasonings* were commonly received, and received with *publick Applause*; any particular *Church*, of what *Authority* soever, had introduced an *Innovation* of so *dishonourable* a *Consequence* to the *God* of the *Christians*, as these *Reasonings* suppose.

30.
And of
Maximus
Taurinen-
sis.

Even in the *Latin Church*, about the same time, we have these Words of *Maximus Taurinensis* [of *Turin*] to the same purpose. Concerning the *Gifts* of the *Wise-men* from the *East* to our *Saviour*,
(among

(among which Frankincense was one) he says they were *unworthy* the Glory of Christ if carnally understood. *Quantum ad gloriam pertinet Christi, munera hæc inspecta carnaliter majestate ejus omnimodis videntur indigna.* Hom. Hyemal. III. in Epiphan. As for what concerns the Glory of Christ, these Gifts, being considered carnally, are every way *unworthy* of his Majesty. And particularly concerning Frankincense; *Quod omnipotenti Deo* thus, *cujus nidore etiam simulacra à gentibus honorantur?* To what end is Frankincense offered to the Almighty God, by which Idols also are honoured by the Heathens? Methinks this should imply, that he knew not any thing of this kind as yet used among Christians. This makes me suspect, that the Words of S. Ambrose, the eldest Testimony of the Latin Church, may be so interpreted, as not to imply any external Incense to have been offered by that great Saint. They are these: *Atque utinam nobis quoque adolentibus altaria, sacrificium deferentibus assistat Angelus, immo præbeat se videndum. Non enim dubites assistere Angelum, quando Christus assistit, quando Christus immolatur.* Comm. in S. Luc. And I could wish that an Angel would also attend on us, and rather that he would make himself visible to us, when we are burning on our Altars, and offering Sacrifice. For it is not

The Words of S. Ambrose considered, and explained from Zeno Veronenfis a Contemporary of S. Ambrose.

to be doubted but that an Angel does attend where Christ is present, where Christ is sacrificed. The Words are an Allusion to the Fact of Zacharias the Father of the Baptist, to whom the Angel appeared as he was in his turn officiating at the Altar of Incense. This makes him use the Word *adolere* also in his own Case mystically, as being also literally true in the Case of Zacharias. Nor is the Use of the Word *adolere* to be thought strange in this Allusion, and on this Occasion. As high Expressions as this are used in the Goth-Gallick Liturgy, concerning the Eucharist, on Easter Eve: *Dominum incenso Vespertinae precis sacrificio, & in caelesti patina per Spiritum erecto, & igne illo quem ipse in nobis accendi desiderat, sollemniter affato, precariis affectibus, fratres carissimi deprecemur.* P. 248. Let us, dearly beloved Brethren, intreat our Lord with Incense, the Sacrifice of our Evening Prayer, which is raised up to the heavenly Patin, and burnt solemnly by that Fire, which he desires that it should be kindled in us. This cannot be meant of even the Incense of the Paschal Cerei, but only of the Eucharistical Host, which was laid on the Patin on the Altar, answerable to the mystical Patin in Heaven: Yet it is expressed in most of these Terms mystically understood, which were not true literally of any Sacrifice

see but that *bloody* one of the *Paschal Lamb*,
 to which the *Allusion* was designed in those
Paschal Offices. But in his *own* Case, he
 has not the least Intimation of *Incense*, nor
 of any other *Oblation* for which *Fire* might
 have been useful. The only *Reason* he in-
 sists on, why he might *hope* for the Pre-
 sence of an *Angel*, which might appear to
 him, in his *own* Ministration, as the *other*
 did to *Zacharias*, is a *Sacrifice* indeed, but
 not *such* a *Sacrifice* as that of *Zacharias* was,
 of *Incense*, nor of any *Sacrifice* proper to
 the *Altar* mentioned in the Case of *Zacha-
 rias*, which had its *Appellation* from that
peculiar Sacrifice of *Incense* to which it was
 appropriated. The *Sacrifice* mentioned by
 our Saint, as offered by *himself*, is only that
 of our *Lord himself*. Which therefore can
 have no relation to an *Altar* of *Incense* as
 apposed to that which was used for the
bloody Sacrifices, such as that was at which
Zacharias was then officiating. If he meant
 any thing *distinct* from the *Eucharist*, by
 the Word of *Adoletion*, it could be no
 other but his *Prayers*, which have the
 Name of *mystical Incense* with those who
 are against all *Incense* in the *literal* Sense, in
 the Performance of *Ecclesiastical Offices*. If
 therefore this Testimony of *S. Ambrose* fail,
 I know none that will hold, before the
sixth Century. And, as a *Confirmation* of
 this

this Explication of S. Ambrose, we have a Witness mentioned by S. Ambrose himself in his *Ep. ad Syagrium*, and the Notes of Time mentioned in the *Writings* themselves much better agree with the Time of S. Ambrose than the Age to which he is assigned by the *Legends*, with a Design of making him a Martyr under the Heathen Emperors. It is Zeno of Verona, of the same exempt Jurisdiction with that of S. Ambrose's Milain, from the time that Milain was made an Imperial Seat, as it seems to have been in the Reigns of Constantine and Theodosius the Great. He, in his *Serm.* on the XLIX. Psalm, reckons three sorts of *Sacrifices*: 1. Those of the Heathens, concerning which he has these Words: *Quæ est ergo ista dementia? Sacrificium nescientibus procurare, lumen cæcis inserit, thura non spirantibus concremare? What Madness therefore is it, to offer Sacrifice to those who know nothing of the Matter? To bring Light to the Blind? To burn Incense to those who have no Breath by which they might smell it?* I have transcribed these Words, to let you see that he comprehends *Thurification* under the common Name of *Sacrifice*. 2. Concerning the Jewish Sacrifices, he adds: *Sed satis otiosum est, in his demorari, quæ in toto jam non sunt.* But it is sufficiently impertinent, to spend time on these things, which now have

have wholly ceased to have any longer a Being. He could not say so if the Christians of his Age had either continued, or revived the Practice of Incense. 3. He mentions the Christian Sacrifices as opposed to both of them, and allows of no other Sacrifices, as agreeable to this Dispensation, but only such as are spiritual: *Spirituali Deo sacrificium est necessarium spiritale, quod non ex sacculo, sed ex corde profertur: quod non bromosis* [r. bromosis. Hesych. *βρομώων ὀσέ- μων*. Glossar. Isidori: *Bromosa, immunda*.] *pecudibus; sed suavissimis moribus comparatur: quod non cruentis manibus, sed sensibus mundis offertur: quod non jugulatur, ut pereat, sed, sicut Isaac, immolatur ut vivat. A spiritual Sacrifice is necessary for a spiritual Being. Such as proceeds not from the Bag, but from the Heart; which is the Product, not of stinking Cattle, but perfumed Manners; Which is not offered with bloody Hands, but pure Understandings; Which is not killed that it may be destroyed, but as Isaac was, is sacrificed that it may live. Here even consumptive Sacrifices, as well as literal, are utterly disclaimed as not agreeable with the Gospel, under which Incense must be comprehended, which is not visible only, but consumptive. This Zeno is supposed to have been dead some few Years before this new Trial of the Virginity of Indicia,*

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who had been *veiled* by that *Zeno*, for which new Trial this *Syagrius* Bishop of *Verona* is reprov'd by *St. Ambrose*, Ep. XLVI, XLVII. l. 6. And the Author of our present Writings, reckons himself, by a Mistake in *Chronology* (too usual in those *unaccurate Times*) above 400 Years later than *S. Paul*, and as living in an Age where-
in Christians were *numerous* and in a *flourishing* Condition. *Serm. de Continentiâ*. And the other Notes of *Time* better agree with *this Age* than that in which they would have him *dye*, who are so eager for making him a *Martyr*. Nor could he have translated so much from *S. Basil*, nor borrow'd so much as he has from *S. Hilary*, if he had liv'd under the *Persecutions*. *S. Ambrose* therefore must have made this *Innovation* by his own *Metropolitcal Power*, if it could have been proved that any such *Innovation* had really been made. If the *Collection* were made for the Use of the Church of *Verona*, and inscribed with the Name of *Zeno*, only to add the more *Authority*; the Age of the *Collector* so plainly signified to have been after the Year 400, will make it yet plainer, that *Incense* was not introduced into those Parts for some Years after the *Death* of *S. Ambrose*. And the *Repetitions* and *Borrowings* may make this no *improbable Conjecture*. Had it been
the

the Work of Zeno himself, it is strange it should have escaped S. Hierom in his Book *de Scriptoribus Eccl.* and his later Transcribers and Continuators. Nor was it unusual to collect *Homilies* for the publick Use of particular Churches, nor to inscribe what was so designed for publick Use with Names of Authority in those Churches wherein they were to be used.

The only early Testimony pretended by the learned Bishop Beveridge, in Defence of the pretended Antiquity of the Canons commonly called *Apostolical*, which mention *Supplices* as then practised when the Author of that Collection lived, is that of a pretended *Hippolytus*, who bears the Name of the ancient Martyr, and has made use of a Title of a Book ascribed to that Martyr, in an Inscription supposed to be near the Age of the Martyr. But that Inscription cannot pretend to be decisive in this Case. There are, at present, two Works under that same Title, both of them pretending to the same venerable Name, though both of them cannot pretend to do so justly. That which appeared later, was first put out by the excellent Marquhardus Gudius, and was afterwards taken by Combes into his *Auctarium*. With this I have no Concern. The Passage produced by the learned Bishop, is that which was first

31.
The Testi-
mony of
Hippoly-
tus de An-
tichristo,
concerning
Incense.

Pag. 46.

printed at Paris A. D. 1557, by the Parisian President Joannes Picus. There it is that we find the Words insisted on for this Purpose. It is there reckoned among the Calamities of the Church under *Antichrist*, that there should be no *Incense*. Πένθει δὲ καὶ αἱ ἐκκλησίαι πένθουσιν μέγα, διότι ἔτι προσφορὰ, ἔτι ΘΥΜΙΑΜΑ ἐκτελείται, ἔτι λατρεία διαρέσσεται. But the Churches lament a great Lamentation, because there is neither any Oblation performed, nor Incense, nor any Worship that is acceptable to God. As if the Author had thought that the Eucharistical Oblation it self would not have been acceptable without the Incense. No Doubt therefore remains, but that in this Author's time Incense had now obtained with great popular Approbation.

32.
Many
Notes in
that Work
which
prove it
later than
the Mar-
tyr Hippo-
lytus. Af-
ter the
Year 629.

But there are many Things in the Work it self which will prove it of a lower Age than that of the Blessed Martyr to whose Name it pretends. The Blessed Virgin is here stiled Θεοτόκος, P. 3. which was then most frequented when the Denial of it was condemned by the Ephesine Council, in Nestorius. She has also the Appellation of πανάχραυστος, P. 3. of ἀχραυστος, P. 23. 30. of παρὰ γὰρ, p. 31. Epithets then most in use when Litanies and other Divine Offices were addressed to her. The πρῶτον σῶμα καὶ αἷμα, P. 56. concerning the Eucharist, tho' true

true before, yet does not seem to have been received into the ordinary *Ecclesiastical Style* before the *Liturgical Forms*, of which I know none extant before the 4th Century, whatever venerable Names they are intitled to, though I know no single Instance of *extemporary Conceptions* for *Publick Offices* before. The Name of *Monachi* here mentioned, P. 11. cannot possibly agree with the Age of *Hippolytus*, when we know the first Instance of that Course of Life, *S. Antony*, was so new in the *Western Church* in the time of *S. Augustine*, and that *Hilarion* was the first that propagated that way of living into *Palestine*, from whence it was derived to the other Parts of *Christendom*. Before *S. Antony*, the Name of *S. Paul of Thebais* was not known. The Number of the Beast this Author finds in the Word *Ἀπρῶμα*, P. 40. the Word imposed on the *Orthodox* by *Antichrist* in the Form wherein they were obliged to deny our Bl. Saviour. Yet the numeral Letters of that Word rightly spelled make 672. Nor will they answer the *Apocalyptick* Number of 666, unless it be written *Ἀπρῶμε*, after the Barbarity of the lower Ages had given the same Sound to *ε* and *α*, first in Pronunciation, which, by degrees, introduced a Confusion of them in Writing also, where the Mistake was not

S. Jerom makes it discovered to S. Antony by Divine Revelation.

so easy as in the Pronunciation. Yet this Author so takes this Observation upon Trust, that he always writes the Word truly, so as it will not serve his Purpose, yet is not aware that, in doing so, he does no Service to his own Cause. Nor does any Manuscript intimate the least Variety in spelling it. Can we believe a Mistake of so gross a Nature agreeable either to the Person, or even the Age of the true Hippolytus? He gives the Cross the Epithet of *τιμω*, P. 54. of *τιμω* and *ζωωντος*, P. 26. both which are also joined in an Oxford Manuscript, P. 39. 45. This Style seems to have begun, especially in that Constancy wherewith this Author uses it, from the time of the Recovery of the Cross by the Emperor Heraclius, which was reckoned as the great Glory of that Reign. This is indeed called the *reimvovos* of the Cross, by the Author of the Paschal Chronicle. I know not whether it may relate to the Apparition of the Cross to Constantine the Great, when he was marching against Maxentius; and to the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, in the time of his Son Constantius. This was Sept. XIV. 629, the Day appointed for celebrating the Memory of that Exaltation of the Cross at Constantinople, when it was brought thither from Jerusalem. Yet the same Chronicle mentions

mentions another *Festivity* wherein the *Sponge* was fastened to the *Cross*, *συνωλόν*, on *O^c. XXVIII. Ind. III. Fer. VII.* the same Year, wherein the *Dominical Letter* was *A*. Then the *Lance* was added, and the next Day, being the *Lord's Day*, solemnly proclaimed, *O^c. XXIX.* And *Fer. III. and IV. O^c. XXXI. and Nov. I.* adored by the *Men*, as it was, on the two following Days by the *Women*. From this time the *Encomiums* of the *Cross* were *Anniversary*, and far exceeded what had been pretended concerning the two former which had no *Anniversaries* to recommend them. So that very probably this *Impostor* lived after this time when all the *Constantinopolitan Christians* were as well devoted to this very *Cross*, as well as signed with the *Symbol* of it in their *Baptism*. And *Heraclius* was indeed received, upon his triumphal Return to *Jerusalem*, *cum thuribulis & suffitu*, if we may believe *Eutychius Tom. II. p. 243.* And the pretended *Apostolical Authorities* of *Dionysius*, and the *Constitutions*, are about a hundred Years elder, which I take for the *Introducers* of this Custom of *Incense*. It cannot therefore be thought strange that an Author of this Age might allude to it, and reckon it among the *Calamities* of the Church under the *Tyranny* of *Antichrist* to be deprived of it.

33.
He seems
to have
written
after the
Year 647.
Yet before
the Dis-
putes con-
cerning
Images,
which rose
after the
Year 700.

But, if I mistake not, we have yet a later Note of the Time of this personated Hippolytus. He makes the three Horns, mentioned by Daniel, to be three Kings which were to be overcome by Antichrist; Αἰγύπτου, Λιβύης τε καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν, P. 22. of Egypt, and Libya, and Ethiopia. Again: Τρεῖς βασιλεῖς μεγάλους πατάξει ἐν θυμῷ, Αἰθιοπῶν, Λιβύων, καὶ Αἰθιοπῶν. P. 34. He shall smite three mighty Kings in his Wrath, the Egyptian, the Libyan, and the Ethiopian. He makes Antichrist to rise out of the Ruins of the fourth Beast, which himself interprets expressly of the Roman Monarchy. Then, if we consider him as a Greek Writer, after Monckery was famous, we can hardly doubt but that this Author was of the Constantinopolitan Empire, and that therefore, by the Name of Rome, he meant that new Rome, to the Subjects of which the Eastern Writers of the middle Ages, appropriate the Name of Romans, in Contradistinction to the Western Rome, whose Subjects are called Latins, not Romans, in the elder, and Franks, in the later, Ages. And it is manifest that the Scene of the Actions of Antichrist is, by him, laid in the Eastern Empire, without any thing relating to the Western. There he was to be born as a Jew, and as a Head of the Jewish Nation, and a Restorer of their Temple.

ple. And there alone it was that he could have any Concern with the Kings now to be considered. And there, *alone*, it must have been that the Greek Word *Ἀπὸστασία* could be supposed as imposed in the *Form* wherein the true *Messiah* was to be renounced. This therefore must be supposed in a time wherein these *three Nations* of the *Ethiopians*, *Egyptians*, and *Libyans*, were not subject to the *Romans* intended by this Author. Wherein he, who is already supposed possessed of the *Eastern Roman Empire*, is notwithstanding supposed to need a new *War* to make him *Master* of these *three particular Nations*. This could, by no means, fit the time of the true *Hippolytus*. Nor can I think of any time more convenient for this purpose, than after the *Epocha* of the *Hegirah*, when the Successors of the false Prophet *Mahomet* had over-run these *three Provinces*. Which they had done some considerable time before they propagated their Dominions further in *Africa*. The *Ethiopia* here spoken of is the *Eastern Ethiopia*, as it is called by the *Antients*, in opposition to that which more commonly bears the Name. That is *Arabia* it self, from which these *Saracens* began their IncurSIONS. Accordingly the next Province, of this Number, is *Egypt*. And the Reduction of that is, by

by *Eutychius*, ascribed to the XXth Year of the *Hegirah*, and the VIIIth Year of the 3d *Caliph*, including *Mahomet* himself, that is, of *Omar Ebnol Cetabi*, Vol. II. p. 319. The same Author adds, that it was on the first Day of the first *Arabick Lunary Month Mobarram*, which then fell on a *Friday*. But it must have been on a *Wedensday* rather than on a *Friday*, by the *Arabick Account* of their *Lunary Months*, if it was on the first Day of that *Month*, as appears by the accurate *Tables* of our famous *Dr. John Graves*, published by the very excellent *Du Cange* in his *Lexicon Med. Latinit. verb. Ann.* These Notes, so adjusted, will characterize *Dec. XX. A. D. 640*, as the Day on which *Egypt* was subdued by the *Saracens*, or rather, perhaps, on which *Alexandria* was surrendred to them. The Reduction of *Africa*, which is the *Libya* of our Author, was in the 6th Year of *Constans*, according to *Theophanes*, the most accurate Author of these Times, about the Year of our vulgar Account 647. Here these *Saracene* Conquests stopped, and made no further Progress *Westward*, for some considerable time, in which this Author lived who thought the Name of *Hippolytus* fit for his purpose, to perswade his *Constantinopolitans* to prepare for the Persecutions of *Antichrist*, and the second Coming

of our Saviour. The rather, because the Name of *Hippolytus* had now gained an Authority in those Parts, by having been vouched for the *Paschal Cycle* of the *Constantinopolitans*, and their *Chronological Accounts* depending on that *Cycle*, as appears by *Georgius Syncellus*. However, I verily believe, he wrote before the Controversy concerning *Picture-Worship* was started under *Leo Isaurus* in the next Century. We should otherwise, no doubt, have had as great Complaints of the Rage of *Antichrist* as a Jew, against *Images*, as against *Incense*. The rather so, because *Leo* himself was said to have been set on that Persecution of the Zealots for *Images* by a Jew, though pretending to be a *Christian*. I know not how it comes to pass that these three Dominions are likewise mentioned by Name in the more likely *Hippolytus* of *Gudius*: I wish it be not an *Interpolation* out of this latter of the same Title. The Text of *Daniel* gave no Occasion, that I can think of, to think that the three *Kings* mentioned by him should relate to any of these *Districts*. And the Name of that *Bl. Martyr* has been so abused by *Impostors*, that it is not easy to distinguish what is his. Nor can I see how that *Monument* wherein so many of his Matters are recounted, together with his *Effigies*, could be erected in the Age wherein he suffered. I

34.
A Conje-
cture con-
cerning the
Occasion
of introdu-
cing the
several Ec-
clesiasti-
cal Uses
of Incense.

I do not know but that the now-ment-
ioned Reception of *Heraclius* into *Jerusalem*
with *Incense*, may give some Light to the
Original of the Use of *Incense* among the
Christians. The *Augustean* Dignity was
treated among the *Heathens* as *Divine*,
not only while the Persons who had it
were *dead*, but also whilst they were *li-
ving*. Not only with other *Sacrifices*, but
Incense also. Even the *Augustæ* had their
sacred Fire carried before them as a *Sym-
bol* of this *divine Honour*. In all likeli-
hood in *Censers* born by *Priests*, who, from
this *Office*, had the Title of *μυροφόροι*, as
they had the Name of *διδάσχοι* from their
carrying their *Torches* in their *sacred my-
stical Processions*. This *portatile Fire* must
have had its *Fewel*, of *sweet-scented Wood*
and *Odours*, the *ἀρώματα* and *θυμιάματα*,
of which we are speaking. With these
the *Heathens* worshipped their *Statues*, as
you heard lately from *Maximus Taurinen-
sis*. Their *Statues* were the *Presentiating*
Symbols of their *Gods*, when *absent* in *Per-
son*, as the *Effigies* of their *Emperors* were
in the *Vexilla*, and the *Chambers* of *Pre-
sence*, under the *later Empire*. To these
Statues they made their *Bows*, their *ἀποσι-
ώσεις* and *προσκυνώσεις*, when the *Emperors*
were personally *absent*, together with their
Fumigations. But to the *Emperors them-
selves*

selves as the *Original Gods* when they also were personally present. Accordingly we find both these Honours of *μεγαλυνσις* and *συνίαμα* allowed to the *Christian εἰκόνας*, by the second *Nicene Council*, though both of them had before been appropriated by the *Peculium* to the *Supreme Being*. Thus *Julian* the *Apostate* inserted the *Statues* of the *Heathen Gods* into his *Vexilla* together with his *own*; with that Design, as it should seem, that what *civil Deference* was paid to his *own imperial Dignity* might be interpreted as designed also for his *Gods* by his *Christian Souldiers*. A like *Artifice* he made use of in a *Donative* to his *Army*, to revive an *old Law*, that all who were to receive it should come up to his *Person* in his *Curule Chair*, and, at his Command, throw a little *Frankincense* into *Fire*, as part of the *Respect* paid to *himself*, that he might charge them, who refused to do so, as failing in their *civil Duty*. This deceived several of them, not thinking of it as a *Sacrifice*. The rather so, because the *Christian Princes*, his *Predecessors*, had many of the *Pagan Honours* paid to their *Office* by their *Pagan Subjects*, but without any mention of their *Τύχαι* or *Genii*, as sworn by, or as concerned in the Ceremony of *Respect*. Which might easily make these *Christian Souldiers* think, as they really

S. Greg:
Nazianz.
Steliten-
tic. I.

ally did, till they were *upbraided* with it by some of their more observing *Brethren*, that the *Honour* paid was purely *Civil*, without any Mixture of *Religion*, which might offend their *Consciences*. Accordingly, as the *Images* of the *Emperors*, which were the *Symbols* of their *Emperors* *Presence*, had this Respect of *Incense* paid them as designed to the *Prototypes* themselves, the *Princes* in *Person*; so the like Respect was paid to the *Gospels*, when they also had, among the *Christians*, obtained that *Regard*, to be owned for a *sensible Shechinah* and *Symbol* of the *divine Majestick Presence*, and indeed as the only *sensible Symbol* of *God* as a *Spirit*, by the *Principles* of their *Christian Religion*. So the *Gospels* were laid on a *Table* before them in their *Councils*, as a *Token* of the *Divine Presence* in such *sacred Assemblies* and *sacred Consultations*, concerning the most important Affairs of *Religion*. I know no *Conjecture* so likely, for their taking the *Gospels* for a *Symbol* of the *Divine Presence*, as the Description of the *Divine Throne* in the *Revelations*, with the *four living Creatures* in the *middle of the Throne*, and round about it, as supplying the Place of him who was supposed to sit in the *Throne*, who was himself *invisible*, and therefore incapable of being otherwise represented in a

Pro-

Prophetick Vision. The four living Creatures are usually understood by the *Fathers*, of the four *Evangelists*, as well in the *Old Testament* as in those *Apocalyptick Visions* copied from the *Old Testament*. See *Revel.* IV. 6. This intitl'd them, in consequence, to *Incense*, which we accordingly find paid to them in early *Offices*, after the Practice of *sacred Fumigations* had, by degrees, gained that Admission into the great Bodies of the *Church*, of which we find it possessed in later Ages. But the allowed *Symbol*, the *Eucharist*, was that, which, if any had Title to it, had the best, had the principal Respect of this kind, shewed it. Then it was paid to the *sacred Pictures* also, after that *Innovation* also had gained upon the better meaning, than judging, Zeal of the *Populacy*. The Use of it in *Nuptials*, I am apt to think, might have its *Original* from the ἀρώματα mentioned in the Case of the *Virgins* out of whom *Ahashuernus* was to chuse his *Queen*. But they did not consider that the *Perfumes* there mentioned were of *Bathings* and *Ointments*, not of *Fire* nor *Fumigation*. Nor did they consider, that the *Purification* spoken of in the Book of *Esther*, was not performed by *Priests*, as having no Relation to the *Matrimonial Sanctification* of the *Peculium*, but a civil Ceremony of State to fit a *Bride* for
Royal

Royal Nuptials, according to the Custom of the *Persians*.

35. You see, by this time, Good Sir, how much *our Churches* have the *Advantage* of that greater Number of Churches, *Eastern* as well as *Western*, who differ from ours in this Particular. You see withal, in an illustrious Instance, that even their present *Consent* against us, in this Matter, ought not to be taken for an Argument of their having conveyed *Apostolical Tradition* to our time more *faithfully* than *ours* have done. And you see consequently, how little *Reason* there is that their *Consent* against us should be insisted on as an *Authority* and *Prescription* against us, so as to *prejudge* against what, even our *smaller Numbers* can produce as to the *Merit* of the *Causes* in dispute between us. I cannot possibly foresee how this can be avoided, if we believe no *new Revelations* pleadable in *later Ages* distinct from those which were made by the *Apostles*, though we do not *confine* these *Revelations* to that *small part* of the *History* of the *Apostolical Age* that is delivered in our present *Canonical Writings*, but extend them also to all other *Particulars* wherein the *Primitive Christians* of the *earliest Ages* after the *Apo-*
This Variation of the modern Churches from the Doctrine of the Catholic Church in the first and purest Ages, is a great Proof that even the Consent of more numerous Churches in later Ages ought not to be taken for a certain Proof that what greater Number of Churches in middle Ages do agree in, ought therefore to be presumed to have descended from truly Apostolical Tradition; or to prescribe against a Recourse to Originals for trying the Merit of the Cause.

files

files were unanimous, and wherein nothing but Truth could secure their Unanimity, according to the demonstrative Reasonings of Tertullian in his Prescriptions. I say, Demonstrative, in the Age wherein he wrote, though not so Demonstrative now concerning Consent in an Age so distant, as ours is, from the Originals of Apostolical Tradition, nor where the Variation of a few principal Patriarchal Bishops has such an Authority for concluding their Suffragans, whatever their Judgments were, concerning the Merit of the Cause, if it had been left to them, as it must have been by the Cyprianic Parity of the Episcopal College. Upon these Terms, you see we are already, as all Churches ought to be, who will allow no new Revelations made to the Church in later Ages, not even distinct from those of the Apostolical Age, much less contradictory to those made then. Such this must have been, if, what God was thought to have declared should be abominable to him in the Times of the Gospel, should, by a new Revelation, under the same Dispensation of the Gospel, be declared acceptable. What Sacrifices should be accepted, and what must not expect Acceptance, is a Matter wholly depending on the Divine Pleasure, and cannot be judged of by the Nature or Merit of the Things

I them-

themselves. And in things *arbitrary*, such as *this* is, it is impossible to *know* the *divine Pleasure* without a particular *divine Revelation*. But there is however a *Presumption*, in the *Reasonings* of the *New Testament*, and of the *Writers* of the *Apostolical Age*, against admitting any *Variety* of *divine Revelations* concerning Affairs of this *nature*, depending on the *divine Pleasure*, under the *Gospel* (such as were owned and allowed under the *Law*, with a *Design* however of *making* the *Change* which *followed* under the *Gospel*) which *Change* was however *foretold* in the *Writers* of the *Old Testament* it self, that the *Subjects* of that *Dispensation* might be *warned* of it, that the *Change* was *intended* by *God* himself, when the *Time* appointed for the *Change* should *come*, and that they might not be *surprized* or *amused* when the *Change* should be *made* which had been *foretold* so long *before*, even while the *Laws*, which were *designed* only for a *time*, were most *punctually observed*. But the *Reasonings* of the *New Testament* make all such *Constitutions*, as might be *shaken*, to *expire* at the *Establishment* of the *Gospel*, with a *Design* that nothing should thence-forward *continue*, but what was *incapable* of being *shaken* by that great *Concussion*, which was *foretold* as the *Means* by which the *Innovati-*

ons designed under the Gospel were to be introduced. In this regard the Gospel is called everlasting, in opposition to that *Temporarieness* of the Law which was owned by the *Authority* of the legal Constitution itself, to make way for the new Revelations which were designed by God himself under the Gospel. And this *Doctrine*, so fundamental to the Reception of the Gospel, was that which secured the Christians against any further Innovations that might otherwise have been pretended from the Revelations by Christ and his Apostles, such as had been made already by the Gospel it self from the divine Revelations made by Moses and the other temporary Prophets of that same *Mosaick Dispensation*. This, in the Reasonings of the New Testament, is called another Gospel, as perfectly inconsistent with the Principles then received concerning the Perpetuity of that Gospel which had been once, *ἀπαξ*, delivered to them without any further Reserve for any Accessions that might be made to it afterwards by the Discoveries of future Ages. Nor was any Authority, either of Men or Spirits, allowed as sufficient for such Innovations, *παρ' ο;* besides or beyond, what had already been received in the Apostolical Age. Not even of Letters, true, or pretended, from the Apostles themselves. Much more from any
I 2 ordinary

ordinary Prophets, who were all of them subordinate to the Apostles, as the Originals of the Prophetick Spirit, as derived from them to all others who could really pretend to it, and as being themselves Possessors of it in that highest Degree, which intitled them to be Standards and Judges of that Spirit in others, which no others could pretend to, if they had not derived it from themselves. Yet the Apostle denounces an Anathema, not only if himself, but if any Angel from Heaven, should preach any other Doctrine, which required Revelation, different from that which had been delivered by the Gospel.

36.
Those middle Ages
pretended
new Revelations.

Yet I know not how these middle Ages can be excused from pleading new Revelations by which they might authorize what Innovations they pleased. They scrupled not to forge Books in the Names of Apostolical Writers, who, had they been such as they were pretended, might have been indeed competent Witnesses of Revelations made to the Apostles. As, in our present Case, they did the Writings under the Name of Dionysius the Areopagite, and Clemens Romanus. This needed not to have been done if they had been conscious that they had better Evidence from Writings never questioned. And, when they pleased, they proved their Doctrines divine by Miracles

racles pretended in their *own time*, which could not have been so properly vouched for any *Revelations*, as for such as had been in their *own time* also. The *Revelations* made to the *Apostles* had been sufficiently proved by the *Miracles* performed by the *Apostles* themselves, and in *those Ages* which were the first *Receivers* of *Traditions* truly *Apostolical*. And what had been once sufficiently proved, would hold true for ever, on the *Traditional Credit* of those *same Miracles*, and could need no other *Credentials* for recommending them to the *Credit* of *future Ages*. They rather seemed conscious of their *not* having been revealed before, by their thinking them to need a Confirmation by *new Miracles*. However, Reasoning on the Supposition, (which is now most generally received by our *Romish Adversaries* themselves) that all *Evangelical Revelations* were made to the *Apostles*, *Catholick Communion* will require, that Things be reduced to the State wherein they were at the *Decease* of the last *Apostle*.

Incense therefore, not being revealed then, 37.
ought not to be imposed as a Condition *which*
of *Catholick Communion* by those *Governors* *must be*
of *Communion* who would approve their *renoun-*
those present *Governors* who have a Zeal for restoring Primitive Catho-
lick *Communion* on truly Primitive *Catholick Terms*. And these *Go-*
vernors are the true Judges (when this *Renunciation* is to be made)
who are themselves neither *Schismatical* nor *Heretical*.

Zeal in retrieving the *Primitive Catholick Communion on Primitive Catholick Terms*, But this judging concerning the *Terms of Communion* is the *Right*, not of *spiritual Subjects*, but of *spiritual Governors*, so long as such *Governors* are not guilty of *Heresy* or *Schism*, or under any such *Incapacity* which makes them *uncapable* of being *Governors*, even *antecedently* to any *Act of Authoritative Deprivation*. So that the *Sin* of any such *Error* (if there had been any *Error* in judging of the *Terms of Communion*) would be chargeable on the *Governors*, not on *Subjects*, who had no *Right* to concern themselves any otherwise in *Matters of this Nature*, than in *Practising* according to the *Determination* of their *Governors*, by whom they were to be *concluded*, as to their *Practice in Communion*. *Subjects* therefore could not *excuse* themselves if they should *separate* for even *erroneous Determinations of that kind* which are notwithstanding *consistent* with such *Orthodoxy in the Essentials*, which are *necessary* for the *Preservation of Ecclesiastical Authority*. Especially whilst the *Errors* are *settled and rivetted* by a long *Possession*, and the *Prejudices of Education*, not only of the *Governours* themselves, but of the *Ecclesiastical Subjects*, who may be likely to prove *refractory*, and to throw off their
present

present *Discipline*, and the *Reverence* due to their *Superiors*, and to dissolve thereby the *Unity* of their respective *Bodies*, and to fall into *Parties* thenceforwards irreconcilable, when the *Authority* is ruined, which is not only the *Cement* of their present *Unity*, but the most likely *Arbitrator* for composing Differences among *Subjects*, and restoring *Unity*, when it must otherwise be quite lost, if the contending *Parties* have no longer any common *Well-wisher* to whose *Judgment* both of them may allow a *Deference* as due. Such a *Prospect* as this may clear the *Governors* themselves from the *Guilt* of the *Schism*, when it is by them inevitable, and therefore much more particular *Subjects*. All therefore that private *Persons* can do in this Case, is to give their *Reasons* modestly, but without *Censure*, and to leave them to the *Judgment* of those who are concerned to judge of them, and to the Management of *Divine Providence*. God can, when he pleases, dispose *Superiors*, as well as *Subjects*, to an *Impartiality* of Consideration, which may give the *Reasons* the *Justice* they deserve. And when they are agreed, the *Reformation* of that will be easy, which both of them are agreed on as deserving a *Reformation*. And that without any *Danger* of *Schisms*, or *Seditions*, destructive of *Authority*, which

are really more *mischievous* to the *Constitution* of the *Ecclesiastical Body*, than can be made amends for by the *Regularity* of most of those *Particulars* the *Reformation* of which is so eagerly prosecuted by less considering *Zealots*.

38. The Argument, concerning the Inconsistency of the Legal Incense with the Liberty of admitting Gentile Profelytes into the new Peculium, does not prove the Continuance of the late Ecclesiastical Incense unlawful.

But, to wave the *Fact*, and to come closer to the *Merit* of the *Cause*, let us consider, how far the same *Reasonings* hold for *ejecting* this *Practice* of *Incense* in those *Churches*, where it has now obtained so long and so *uncontested* a *Possession*, which made the *Primitive Church* so averse to the *Admission* of it. Many of them certainly do *not* so. The *Incense* which *God* declared so *abominable* to him under the *Gospel*, was that which *God himself* had been so *pleased* with among the *Jews*, on the same *Account* as the other *Jewish Sacrifices* had been *accepted* by him, with which this is reckoned in the same *Prophecy* of *Isaiah*, in which it is foretold that *Incense* should be so *abominated* by *God* after the *Promulgation* of the *Gospel*. That can be no other but the *Temple-Incense*, which had been *commanded* by a *positive Institution*. And this indeed became *abominable* to the same *God* who *instituted* it, when it became a *Characteristick* of a *Communion* opposite to that of the *true Peculium*, and perfectly *inconsistent* with that *free Admission* of the *Gentiles*

Gentiles into the *chosen* People of God, tho' not qualified for it by the Condition required formerly of *Circumcision*. For the Gentiles could no more be admitted to the *Temple-Incense* than to the other *Sacrifices* of the *Temple*. Nay less, inasmuch as the *Altar of Incense*, and that holier part of the *Temple*, where that *Altar* stood, was less accessible to even the *Jews* themselves, than the *Altar* that was appointed for the bloody *Sacrifices*. Nor was any other *Incense* intitled to the *Divine Acceptance*, but that which had alone been of *divine Institution* formerly. Being therefore thus interpreted, it excluded the truly beloved People of God, which had formerly not been beloved, and admitted none into their *Sacred Assemblies* but those who now were no longer beloved, whilst they wilfully kept themselves divided from the *Communion* of those to whom God was thenceforward resolved to appropriate that *Love* of his which was to be the *Prerogative* of his truly chosen People. This *Division* deprived the *Jews* of the *Title* of the beloved People, and consequently exposed them to the *Title* of being hated, as a being postponed in a Rivaling of *Love* is called *Hatred* in the sacred *Style*. So *Esau*, as excluded from the *Right* of the *Peculium*, is said to be hated, tho' he had then done nothing that might deserve

serve Hatred, as the Scripture also observes. So the *less beloved Wife* is said to be *hated*. And we are said to *hate* our own *Lives* when we freely *expose* them rather than *violate* our *Duty*, tho' no Man ever *hated* his own *Flesh*, according to the Doctrine of the Inspired Writings. In the same Sense therefore as the *Jewish Assemblies* excluding the *uncircumcised Gentile Proselytes* to the Gospel, are said to be *hated* by God, their *Sacrifices* also and their *Solemnities* so appropriated to themselves, are also said to be *abominated* by him, as being the *Sacrifices* and *Solemnities* of Persons in general *hated* by God. That is, in opposition to the *Acceptableness* of the like *Sacrifices*, and the like *Solemnities*, when performed by *Favourites* whose *Persons* had been *acceptable*. So the *Acceptableness* of Noah's *Sacrifice* is represented by God's *smelling a sweet savour* from it, Gen. VIII. 21. And the *Odiousness* of the contrary Case is a *Stink* in his *Nostrils*. Thus the Application to *Incense* will be *Emphatical*, That, however *delightful* the *Perfumes* of *Incense* might be thought to *humane Senses*; yet even that, when offered by *Assemblies* of Persons *unacceptable* to God, should be as far from finding the *Acceptance* they might hope for, by it; that, on the contrary, it should as much *provoke* him, and be *detest-*

ed by him, as the most execrable Scents could be by a Person of the most delicate sensitive Perception. But then it was the Inconsistency of that Jewish Incense with the Freedom of the new Peculium, and of the Admission of Gentile uncircumcised Proselytes into that Peculium, that took away that among such other Constitutions, which could not endure that Concussion. But this cannot be pretended concerning the modern Ecclesiastical Incense. This is so far from being appropriated to the Jews, that even the circumcised Jews themselves cannot be admitted to it but upon the Terms of the new Peculium, of their being received into the Christian Church by Baptism. If therefore that Incense had been of the like Nature with this, it could have suffered nothing by the Concussion occasioned by the Change of the Publication of the Gospel. The present Practice therefore of Incensing among Christians is in the same condition, in reference to this particular Reason, as the Jewish Incense would have been, if it had not been contrary to the Union designed by God of the Gentiles with the Jews in the same new Peculium. If the old Incense had been as consistent with this Union, it would not have been shaken by the Concussion made in the Establishment of the Gospel, by the Reasoning of the Apostle.

stle. And if it had *not* been *shaken*, it must *still* have *remained*, in consequence of the same Reasoning. And that, by virtue of the *old Legislation*, which, by these Principles, was not *shaken* by the Gospel in Particulars not *inconsistent* with the Design of the Gospel. This leaves it therefore in the same *Indifferency* of its own Nature, wherein it was *before* the *old divine Establishment* concerning it. That is, as capable of being *retrieued* by a *new divine Legislation*, if either those *later Ages* wherein it was *first* taken up, might have expected a *new divine Revelation*, or the *ordinary divine Direction* of so many Churches as were concerned in the new *Introduction* of it may be taken for a *Presumptive Argument* of a *divine Revelation*.

39. But we observed other Reasons, given in the Authors now recited, why the Worship by *Frankincense* was thought *unbecoming* the *Supreme Being*, the *only Object* of *divine Worship* by the Constitution of the Gospel. That is, that it was fitted to the *lower Dignity* of *inferior corporeal Beings* who had *Organs* that made them capable of the Pleasure of *fragrant Smells*, and originally given to *none* but *such* as were believed to be so. This *Consideration* and *Presumption* made the giving *this Worship* to the *Supreme Being* an Argument that

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his Worshippers in this Way did *not* really believe him to be what they pretended, the *Supreme Being*, whilst they paid him this Honour, which was, by their *Opinions*, and these *Reasonings*, appropriated to these Beings of a Nature confessedly *not supreme*. Which would rather have made it an *Affront*, than an *Honour*, to the *Being* for which it was intended by the Worshippers *themselves*. The whole Force of these Arguments was grounded on the *Scandal* given or taken, in *not* worshipping the *Supreme Being* with a *Worship* suitable to the *Dignity* of his *Nature*, which was therefore to *imply* a *Belief*, at least, of *Supremacy* in the *Object* to which it was ascribed. Whereas this, on the contrary, was thought so far from *implying* any such *Supremacy*, as that it was rather thought to *suppose* an *Inferiority* of *Nature* in the *Object* of such *Worship*, as was perfectly *inconsistent* with the *Supposal* of any such *Supremacy*. If these *Reasons* had been *perpetual*, God *himself* would never have *endured* such a *Worship*. So far he would have been from *authorizing* it, even under the *old Dispensation*, with his own *Approbation* and express *Institution*. He would never have given his *own People* an *Authority* to *affront* him. But the *Revelations* of the *Old Testament* were so
clear

clear in these Particulars of the *Incorporeity* of the *divine Nature*, that even the *Anthropopathies* of the *Old Testament* it self were not judged *dangerous* for promoting any such *mean Opinions* among the *Jews* themselves concerning the *Pleasure* God might *receive* from *perfuming Fumigations* and *aromatick Smells*. Not even those now mentioned, concerning God's *smelling* a *sweet savour* from *acceptable Sacrifices*, or the *Stink* supposed in his *Nostrils* from such *Sacrifices* as were *unacceptable*. Nor were the *Opinions* of the *Heathens* then regarded, who did indeed take God for a *limited*, though a more than *ordinarily potent, Tutelar*, so long as the *Jews*, who were *then* the *true Peculium*, were unanimous and agreed in owning the *particular Tutelar* of their *own Nation* for the *Supreme* of all *Beings*. The Argument was the same against *bloody Sacrifices* burnt with *Fire*. These also were, in the *first* and *purest* Ages of our *Christian Religion*, thought proper only to such *Corporeal Beings* as were believed capable of receiving *sensible Pleasure* or *Nourishment* from the *Nidor* of such *Sacrifices*, and therefore thought unworthy of the *Supreme Being*. Yet neither did this hinder God himself from *requiring* those *Sacrifices* from the *Jews*. Nor was there *then* any *Danger* that

that such Oblations should occasion any dishonourable Thoughts of the Being to whom they were offered, unworthy even of him that was Supreme. The surer Word of Prophecy makes them far more antient than the abovementioned ingenious GuesSES of Theophrastus and Porphyry. Even practised by Abel himself, who was familiarly acquainted with the first divine Traditions for the Good of Mankind. And long before they were offered to Beings of a lower Rank, and when they could not give any the least Occasion of believing sensual Delight or Nourishment received from them by the Supreme Being it self, to which they were then appropriated; and long before any such Opinions were received concerning the Pleasure or Nourishment of the adored Beings by their Sacrifices. Nor was there much more Occasion for any such Scandal by the Mosaical Sacrifices, when the spiritual Nature of God was so notorious and undisputed and fundamental a Doctrine of the Law that required those Sacrifices; and when God himself insists on the no Obligation he was capable of receiving by those Sacrifices, and the Absurdity of thinking him capable of any Benefit by their Flesh, or their Blood, or of any Hunger that might tempt him to desire them; and when no inferior Beings whatsoever were by

by him permitted to partake of the same *Sacrifices*. These are therefore *Reasons* which could never make these *Practices* scandalous, but when these *Opinions* were received, and in those *Times*, and *Places*, and with those *Persons* by whom they were believed. But none that offer *Incense*, at present, on a *Christian* Account, can be thereby tempted to believe God capable of receiving *sensible Delight*, or to doubt of the *Incorporeity* of his Nature, which is so firmly believed by all that practice it. Nor have any *Infidels* any Pretence to put that *Interpretation* on the Practice of it, when it is known to be so irreconcilable with their *Professions* and *Principles* to the contrary. And it would be a *Scandal*, not given, but taken, which would be grounded on so unreasonable an *Interpretation*. These *Reasons* therefore, tho' they might have been of use, against the retrieving the Use of *Incense* among *Christians* in the first *Ages*, after the *Jewish Law* for it was abrogated; are notwithstanding of none for proving any *Obligation* to discontinue it now, where it is received and confirmed by a prevailing *Prescription*.

40. Yet there remains another Reason, even for proving that *Obligation*; which, I am
 But the Appropriation of Incense to the Supreme Being (with a Design of excluding the Worship of all created Beings from the Assemblies of the Peculium) seems plainly contradicted by the modern way of Worshipping Saints by this way of incensing their Resemblances, whether Statues or Pictures.

apt to think, will not be so easily avoided. That is, the *Design*, for which several Particulars of *this nature*, which (according to the Opinions of the Fathers) were not of *primary Intention*, and had therefore never been *commanded* by God, on any account of their *own Nature*, as of it self *suitable* to the *Worship* of the *Supreme Being*, were notwithstanding, not *permitted* only, but *enjoined*, for that very *Reason*, because they had been generally taken up by the *Consent* of *civilized Nations*, as ways of signifying a *divine Honour*. Not that the *divine Honour* signified by those ways, could be of the *highest kind*, but that it was suitable to their own *Opinions* concerning the *Deities* worshipped by *those* ways of *signifying* their *Respect* to them. They did *not* believe those whom they called *Gods*, and to whom they paid those Offices of *divine Worship*, to be *Gods*, in any *higher* than a *limited Sense*. They thought their Power *confined* within limited *Districts*, and to limited *Benefits*; and believed *each* of them more *powerful* than the others in Matters *properly* belonging to their own *Province*. The *Syrians* believed the *God* of *Israel* too *strong* for *theirs* in a *hilly Country*, because *Palestine* was naturally *hilly*; but hoped their *own Gods* would be *too hard* for *him* in a *plain*

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Country, such as their *own* was. The *Philistines* believed the same *Patron* of the *Israelites* more *powerful* than the *Gods* of the *Egyptians* who had been *overthrown* by him. Yet that did not make them *despond* in their *Hopes* of *Success*, if they should behave themselves with their usual *Valour*, and upon account of their former *Successes* in imposing *Slavery* on the *Hebrews*, which they therefore reckoned as an *Argument*, that their *own Gods* were more *powerful* than the *God* of the *Hebrews*. Why would *God* admit those ways of *Worship* to be *practised* to *himself*, which did *not*, of *themselves*, signify an *Honour* of the *highest degree*, and was therefore *short* of what *ought* to have been *consecrated* to him with a *primary Intention*, as *not* signifying that *Esteem* of him by his *Worshippers*, which became the *Dignity* of the *Supreme Being*? Why should he, by a *Positive Command*, appropriate to *himself* these *inferior degrees* of *Worship* in his *own Peculium*, which were given to the *Popular Gods* which were *confessedly* of an *inferior Nature*, but with a *Design* that *no* such *inferior Gods* should *share* with him in the *publick Worship* of his *own Peculium*? That was the natural *Consequence* of such a *Positive Command*, when he had thereby *left* no *Offices* of *even* an *inferior nature*, usual in *Solemnities* and

and *Assemblies*, which he had not thereby appropriated to himself, and when it was withal evident, that *no other* Worship, but such as this of the *inferior sort*, could be proportionable to the *Nature* of these *inferior popular Gods*, or could be therefore lawfully used to them without an unanswerable Charge of manifest *Idolatry*. The giving such a *limited Honour* as this, could not have been interpreted as a robbing the *Supreme Being* of an Honour that was of its own *Nature proper* to him, if himself had not been pleased to appropriate it to himself by a *positive Command*. On the contrary, it was as *suitable* to the *Nature* of the *Beings*, for whom it was designed by the *Worshippers* themselves, if God had not prohibited it, as the *Worship* now given to *Saints* and *Angels* and the *Blessed Virgin*, by the *Innovations* of the *Churches* of later *Ages*. His Design therefore herein, seems plainly to be, that he asserted the *Dignity* of his own *Peculium* in being admitted into the *Patronage* of the *Supreme Being*, without any *Intervention* of *inferior subordinate Tutelars* to whom any *publick Addresses* were to be made in their *solemn Assemblies*, either of *Prayers* for *Impetration* of *Benefits* not *sensibly* conferred; or of *Thanksgiving* for them when they were already obtained. This I take to have been

the real Design of *forbidding Images* to which any such publick solemn *Worship* might have been *addressed*. The *having* them *without* *Worship* could no more have hurt their *Notions* of the *Spirituality* of the *divine Nature* than the *Anthropopathies* so frequently used by the *divine Spirit* himself in *Compliance* to the *Weakness* of our *humane Imaginations*. But *Addresses* of any kind to such *Images*, would, in those *earliest Ages*, have been interpreted as *designed* for such *subordinate Beings*. For the *Shape* of the *Image* was that which made a *Discrimination* between the *Beings* represented by those *Images*. And it was the *only one* that *could* well be made before the *Invention* of *Letters*. The first *Memorials* for *Benefits* received were *unshapen Stones* erected in the *place* where such *Benefits* had been received. These are called *Cippi*, or *σῆλαι*, as has been observed by *Clemens Alexandrinus*. Such as these the *Scripture* mentions as erected by the *Patriarchs* in *Honour* of the *Supreme Being*, under some particular *Title* relating to the *Benefit* received by those *Patriarchs* in the *places* where they erected them, as *Memorials* of those *Benefits*. As of *Jehovah Nisseh*, *Jehovah Jireh*, &c. But these *Titles* seem to have been given them only by *Word of Mouth*, and were derived accordingly

cordingly only by *oral Tradition* to *Posterity*; not by any *Inscriptions* on the *Stones* themselves. Nor are these mentioned by *Moses* with any the least *Reproach*, but rather as done by the *Approbation* of *God himself*, accepting the *Honour* which was so *designed* for *him*. Nor was there any *Danger* that this *multitude* of *Appellations* of the same *Jehovah* could be mistaken for a *Multitude* of even *subordinate Deities*. Afterwards, when the *Statuary Art* was invented, and *before* the *Invention* of *Letters*, the *Stone* was graven into a certain *Shape* of some *Animal*, which was the *only* way received among the *Heathens*, after they had received a *Plurality* of *Gods*, for determining for *which* of all those *Gods* the *Monument* was *intended*. For, *before Letters*, *Hieroglyphicks* of *Animals* of received *mystical Significations*, were the *only* Means of signifying to *Posterity* the *Spirits* signified by those *Animals*, which could not themselves be *represented* otherwise, by the *Statuaries*, but by such *bodily Shapes*. This seems plainly the *Practice* among the *Egyptians*, who are reckoned among the *antientest* *Rivals*, and to whose *Hermes* the *Invention* of *Letters* is it self ascribed. Their *Gods* are generally *represented* in *Shapes* of *Animals* of *Hieroglyphical* *Signification*, though sometimes *mixed* among

themselves to signify a *Mixture of Powers* in the *same Deity*. These *Shapes*, in the second *Commandment*, relating to *Images*, are reckoned of *Things in Heaven*, of *Things on Earth*, and *Things under the Earth*, according to the three sorts of *Animals* inhabiting these several *Regions*. Which must be understood of the *sublunary Heavens*, because the *other Heavens* afforded no *Images* capable of being imitated by the *Statuary*. Accordingly these three sorts of *Animals*, in this *lower elementary World*, are taken notice of by *Philo*. And the three sorts of *Spirits* inhabiting these *Regions*, *Aerial*, *Terrestrial*, and *Infernal*, are commonly distinguish'd by the lower *Philosophers*, each of them expressed to the *Senses of Mankind*, by the *Statuaries*, by *Symbols of Animals* of their own *Regions* respectively. So that the *Effigies* of each particular *Animal* signified an *invisible Power* of the same *Region* with the carved *Animal* to whom the *Worship* was addressed that was performed before the *Statue* of the *Animal* that represented it. But all these *invisible Powers* of these *lower elementary Regions* could be no other but created, and of a nature far *inferior* to the *Supreme Being*. And therefore where they were taken for *Gods*, they could be understood to be no *otherwise* so, but *subordinately*,

nately, as *Tutelars* under the *Supreme Creator* of them all, who, in *opposition* to these *Subcælestial Gods*, is called the *God* that made the *Heavens*, and the *Maker* of *all things*, *invisible* as well as *visible*. When therefore it is observed to the *Israelites* who were *present* at the giving of the *Law*, that they saw no *Shape*, the Meaning is, that they saw no *Shape* of any of these *Animals* by which these *subordinate Tutelars* were usually represented. Otherwise the *visible Appearance* must have had a *Shape* as well as the *Stones* now mentioned as erected in Honour of *Jehovah*. But the *Shape* not being of any of those *Animals* by which the *subordinate Deities* were usually represented; that was sufficient to warn them, that their publick *Addresses* were to be made to the *Supreme Being* immediately, and *not* by the *Mediation* of any of his *ministring Spirits*. Accordingly the *Worship* then paid was not given to the *Cherubims*, but to *him* who sat *between* the *Cherubims*. And the *Angel*, who appeared to *Manoah*, told *Manoah*, that if he would offer a *burnt offering*, he must offer it to the *Lord*, *Judg. XIII. 16.* Which was no more, in *truth*, than asserting the *Dignity* of the *true Peculium*. Accordingly the *appropriating Incense* to *himself*, which was, otherwise, no *suitable way* of worshipping

shipping *him*, and was therefore never likely to have been appropriated for its own sake, seems to have been done by God with this very *Design*, that no *publick solemn Worship* should be paid, in the *publick Assemblies* of the *Peculium*, to any but the *Supreme Being*, when, even that *way of Worship* which was otherwise more proper of its own *nature* for them, was notwithstanding *forbidden* to be paid *them* in the *publick Assemblies*. This *Reasoning* will, I think, fully reach the *Case of Incense* in our *modern Christian Churches*.

41. For it is certain, that the *Appropriation* of the *Peculium* to the *Care of the Supreme Being*, is as *much* the *Privilege* of the *new Peculium*, as it was of the *old*. And I have in my *Discourse* concerning the *one Priesthood*, and the *one Altar*, shewn that this *Privilege* *now* also consists in our *not having now*, any more than they, any *subordinate Governors* of an *invisible spiritual Nature*. Therefore the *Angel*, in the *Revelations*, refuses *προσκύνησιν*, and appropriates it to God, XIX. 10. XXII. 8, 9. Tho' this very *Word* is owned by the *second Nicene Council* as *proper* for that *Worship* which themselves paid to *Images*. And he owns the *ἰσαγγελία*, to which we are advanced by the *Gospel*, S. *Luk.* XX. 36. as the *Reason why* that *Honour* was not *due* to him.

This Reasoning for so appropriating all sorts of Worship in Religious Assemblies, so as to exclude all created Beings from the Worship of Assemblies, proceeds more strongly in the Case of the new, than it did in that of the old, Peculium.

him. *I am thy Fellow-servant, and of thy Brethren.* XIX. 10. XXII. 9. And they are therefore called *ἀσπυγγοὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας*, sent forth *εἰς ἀλυσσιν*, for the Heirs of Salvation, Hebr. I. 14. And as the appropriating this way of Worship by Incense (which was otherwise too mean for God) was, by God himself, who appropriated it, appropriated with that very Design, that there might be no sort of Worship, payable in Religious Assemblies, by which such inferior subordinate invisible Beings might have any Worship at all paid them in such Assemblies; so the same Reasoning does as much, if not more, reach the State of the Gospel, by which the Spirit, which intitles us to this *ἐκκλησία*, is actually conferred upon us, which was not given actually by any ordinary means appointed for conveying it under the legal Ministration. So these later Churches have directly opposed the Design of God, and the Traditions received from the Apostles in both Particulars: As well in introducing new Objects of Worship, perfectly destructive of the Privileges of the Peculium; as in the Manner of the Worship, which was therefore purposely appropriated by God to himself, that it might never be paid to Angels, nor to any created Beings, of what Dignity soever. In introducing the Worship of Saints and Angels, they

they have done that which God intended to have made *impracticable*, by allowing *no Use of Incense in Religious Assemblies* to any but *himself*. And by *worshipping* them by even that *forbidden way of Incense*, they have endeavoured to *perpetuate the Use of Incense in Religious Assemblies*, which God *intended* should be only *temporary*. So the Fathers thought all *those Constitutions* were *intended* to be by God himself, which were not of *primary Intention*, but for preventing a *present Inconvenience*. So the Design of *appropriating Incense* was for keeping out of the *Publick Worship* that of *subordinate Tutelars*. This was a particular Case of the *Jews*, who were so *inclined* to offend, in that Particular, of *introducing the Worship of inferior subordinate Beings* into their *Publick Offices*, as is plain from their History as it is delivered in their own Writings. For their own Case of worshipping the *Supreme Being immediately*, was *singular*, and *peculiar* to themselves. God had *not dealt so with any other Nation*, as to own himself their *peculiar Patron*, in such a Sense as no other Nation could pretend. Nor did any of the other Nations *known* to them pretend to it. Their *Publick Worship* was none of it directed to the *Supreme Being*, but only to those *inferior Deities* which were *universally*

sally forbidden to the *Jews*, who were always of themselves inclined to imitate other Nations, as well in other Things, as that of making themselves a *King*. The rather that they might thereby ingratiate themselves to their neighbouring Nations, to whom their Singularity of their proper God, and his proper Laws, had made them universally odious. *Haman* insisted on these Singularities as a Reason of the Edict procured by him for their Destruction. *Esth.* III. 8. And *Juvenal* represents them as so morose, that they would not perform the common Offices of Humanity to any but their own. And this appeared by the inveterate Rancour of their Fellow Citizens against them when those Fellow Citizens were secure from the fear that the Romans would concern themselves in the Favour of the *Jews*. This therefore then made it necessary to secure this Foundation of the Law which appropriated the *Jews* as a *Peculium* to the peculiar Care of the Supreme Being, by a *Sepimentum Legis* (as the *Rabins* call it) this Appropriation of all, even subordinate Worship, to the Creator of the World. And it was but reasonable, on the Terms of a Covenant, to which he was pleased to receive them; That as God himself gave the Nation of the *Jews* the Security, that He would be their God in the

the appropriated Sense; so the People should likewise give God the like Security, that *They* would own no other God but *him*. Which was effectually done, by engaging them to pay none of the *Acts* of divine Worship then received, by the Consent of civilized Nations, in the Worship of their own several Gods respectively, to any but *himself*. This made them, by their own *Act*, his People, in an appropriate Sense, whilst they paid no sort of divine Worship, how low soever, to any besides him, as himself had made himself their peculiar Deity, by his *Act* also, in a way of the like Appropriation, in receiving them as the only Candidates of his peculiar Favours. But then this Law would, in course, have ceased, as, no doubt, it was intended it should, upon the general Reception of the Gospel, when the main fundamental Law would no longer need any such kind of Hedge for its Security; that is, when the Duties, as well as the Rights of the true new Peculium, were thoroughly received and understood. That is, when themselves should be most numerous, and most universally dispersed, and, thereby, in less danger of being influenced by the Authority of Heathen Nations. When there was no danger of Gods, in the inferior sense, being worshipped in the Christian Assemblies, there

there would then remain no Reason, why any of these inferior sorts of Worship should at all be used in the Christian Assemblies. It would then be agreeable, that the Supreme Being should be then worshipped in a Way most agreeable to the Excellency of his own Nature. That is, only by such Acts of Worship as argued Infinity in the Object of them, and were inconsistent with any Thoughts of Limitation in the Being for whom the Worship was intended. So the continuing of Incense now, or any thing of the like kind, must, by rational Interpretation, be taken for an Opposition to the Designs of God, a making that perpetual which he intended should not be perpetual, but only temporary. This therefore ought to be reformed by such Church Governours as will give no real Scandal, nor Obstruction to Catholick Communion on the Primitive Terms. Still I mean, not tumultuously, but when Governors themselves are satisfied that this was the true Design of our Saviour; and when they find it Practicable.

It is also very considerable to this Purpose, that this Practice of Incensing Pictures or Statues, was condemned in the first and purest Ages in their coæval Hereticks. So S. Irenæus concerning the Carpocratians:

Eriam imagines, quasdam quidem depictas,

quas-
coæval Hereticks.

42.

The Practice of Incensing Images condemned by the Primitive Church in their

quasdam autem & de reliquâ materiâ fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam à Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, & proponunt eas cum imaginibus Mundi Philosophorum, videlicet cum imagine Pythagoræ, & Platonis & Aristotelis, & reliquorum, & reliquam observationem circa eas similiter ut Gentes faciunt. L. I. adv. Hær. c. 24. They have also Images, some painted, some made of other Materials, pretending that they answer the Shape of Christ made by Pilate, in that Age wherein Jesus conversed with Mankind. They also crown these, and propose them together with the Images of the worldly Philosophers. That is to say, with the Image of Pythagoras, and Plato, and Aristotle, and the rest of them. And they use the same Observations concerning them as the Heathens do. Epiphanius has some more of the Greek of this Place than is taken notice of by the excellent Dr. Grabe. And he is withall more particular in explaining what S. Ireneus meant by the Customs of the Gentiles which were imitated by the Carpocratians in the Honour paid by them to these Images. Τίνα δὲ ἕτιν ἑθνῶν ἔδει, ἀλλ' ἢ θυσιάαι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα. Hær. XXVII. 6. But what are the Customs of the Heathens other than Sacrifices and the like? So Alexander Severus is said rem divinam fecisse in his Lararium

rarium, to our Saviour, in the like Com-
 pany of Apollonius, Abraham and Orpheus,
 [Lamprid. in vit. c. 29.] together with the
 good Emperors and the *Anima sanctiores*.
 And *facere* is a sacrificial Word in *Virgil*,
 as well as ἐρδεν and πέζειν in very good Au-
 thorities of Classick Greek Authors. But
Incense was the most proper Sacrifice for
 those lower sorts of Deities which were
 worshipped in the *Lararia*, which were
 proper *Lares* and humane Souls. And the
Altars of *Incense* were more agreeable to
 the private Devotion of the *Lararia*, as it
 was opposed to the more publick Devotions
 of the *Temples*. And it could have been,
 by no means, proper for the *Carpocratians* to
 have sacrificed bloody Sacrifices to *Pythago-
 ras*, who was himself so devoted to the
unbloody Altars, and taught Men to avoid
bloody Sacrifices as *piacular*. It is not there-
 fore without Reason, that both *S. Augustin*
 and *Theodoret* are express in expounding
 these Sacrifices of the *Carpocratians* of *In-
 cense*. By which it plainly appears that
 the Worship of any sort of Images, though
 of our Saviour himself, was taken for a
Heathenish Practice then, and perfectly un-
 warrantable, by the Principles of the *Cbri-
 stian Catholick Church*, in that Age; and that
 it was condemned by the *Catholicks* in those
Hereticks, as singular in them, and as a
 Point

Point wherein those *Hereticks* were disowned by the Church, and so disowned as to deserve the Name of *Hereticks*, for observing it, in the Judgment of that happy Age of the Church in the second Century, which condemned them for observing it. So *S. Augustin* seems to have designed, in taking notice of this unjustifiable Practice particularly; that ignorant Persons might know what they were to avoid as they would approve themselves good *Catholicks*, and free from the Contagion of *Heresy*. So he expresses himself in his Preface: *Unde possit omnis Heresis, & quæ nota est, & quæ ignota, vitari; & unde rectè possit quæcunque innotuerit, judicari.* From whence all sorts of *Heresies*, that which is known, and that which is unknown, may be avoided; and by which a right Judgment may be made concerning any [*Heresy*] whatever it be that may hereafter appear. So he answered the Request of *Quodvultdeus*, who put him upon that Work, for the Information and Direction of ignorant *Catholicks*. That compendio ignarus instrueretur: ut noverit quid teneat, quid evitet, quid aversetur ne faciat, quid ut faciat, assequatur. That the ignorant Person may be briefly taught, that he may know what he is to hold, and what he is to avoid: what he must beware that he may not do it, and what he is to endeavour that

that he may perform it. By which it appears that *Practices*, as well as *Opinions*, were included in the *Design*. But such only of both sorts, as were to be avoided by good *Catholicks* on account of their *Duty* to the *Catholick Church*, and the *Zeal* they were obliged to as good *Catholicks*, against *condemned Heresies*. This, in all likelihood, made that *prudent*, as well as *great Father* so cautious, in giving *Warning*, that he did not take all the *Opinions* of *Hereticks* to be *Heresy*. His Meaning, I suppose, was, that his Reader might not be surprized if he did not find here every thing taken for a *Heresy* which was reckoned among *Heresies* by *Philastrius*, one of his Authors, whom he owns in this Collection. He had observed that *Philastrius* had reckoned more *Heresies* than *Epiphanius*, whom he judged for the more learned of the two. This he does not impute to any *Advantages* *Philastrius* had for *knowing Heresies*, which were *unknown* to *Epiphanius*, but rather to the better *Judgment* of *Epiphanius*, who did not think many *Particulars Heretical* which *Philastrius* thought so. And indeed whoever reads *Philastrius*, will find that *S. Augustine* had very good *Reason* for his *meaner Opinion* of *Philastrius*. Having therefore commended *Epiphanius* for his better *Judgment* in this Case, his war-

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ning that all *Opinions* of *Hereticks* were *not Heretical*, shews, that he himself intended to follow *him*, rather of the two, whom he took for the better *Precedent*. And therefore, that himself intended to *particularize* no *Opinions*, or *Practices*, of *Hereticks*, but those which were, in his *own Judgment*, *Heretical*, and *unfit* to be imitated by any who heartily desired to keep the Reputation of being good *Catholics*. So it appears that our *modern Churches* also must *condemn* and *reject* what was *condemned* in the *Carpocratians* then, if they will approve themselves to be of the same *Faith* with their glorious *Ancestors*, who *condemned* the *Carpocratians*.

43. Having brought the *History* of this *Practice* so much *lower* than has commonly been *believed* in the *Churches* which are guilty of the *Innovation*; it may now not be unacceptable to you, to *discover*, if it may be, the *Age*, wherein the *Innovation* was first made. *Polydore Virgil* conceives it to have been introduced by Pope *Leo III.* in the time of *Charles the Great*. And I take *Platina* for his Author; who affirms the same in the Life of *Sixtus I.* I wish *Platina* had signified upon whose *Credit* he affirmed it, or upon what *Reasoning* he founded his *Conjecture*, if he had no *express Testimony* near the *Age* of that *Leo* for

Incense
used in the
Suburbicarian jurisdiction
of the
Pope, and
at Arles,
long before
the time
of Leo III.

for saying so. A *Thuribulum Aureum* is taken notice of, among the *Donaries* of that same *Leo*, by the Author of that Pope's *Life* in the *Pontificals*. And no more than one of the kind. Perhaps *Platina* might thence gather that there *was* no more than one that used it, as none but the High-Priest, that officiated, among the *Jews*, was allowed to use it before the *Mercy seat*, which was unaccessible to any other Priest besides him. Had this Reasoning been good, it would have made it the Prerogative of the Pope alone in Person, which could not have been true, but when it was first introduced. It is certain that it was afterwards used by Persons of an inferior Rank. Perhaps *Anastasius* might not have observed any such *Donary* in the *Life* of any earlier Pope. Perhaps *Platina* might not have observed it in *Anastasius*, or in any other Monument which he made use of in his Collections for writing that *Life*. Either of these Cases might have given *Platina* occasion to take this for the first Original of *Incense*, at least in the Church of *Rome*. But what Ground soever he might pretend for his Conjecture, it could hardly possibly be true. *Casarius Arelatensis* is said to have sold the Ecclesiastical *Thuribula* for the Redemption of Captives. And this is reported concerning him by a

coæval Writer of his Life, *Cyprianus Tolonenfis*. This must have been near the Year 500, and in the *Western Church*, not only some *Ages* before the Time of *Leo III*, but before the true Times of the *Forgeries*, which bear the Names of *Dionysius the Areopagite* and *Clemens Romanus*, neither of which have good Attestations elder than the Beginning of the VIth Century. Yet there is an antienter Testimony than this of *Cyprianus Tolonenfis*, and relating to *Italy*, and with a Date of the Consulate wherein it was transacted, and from an Original still extant, and not far from *Rome* it self. That is of the *Charta Cornutiana*, reckoned by the excellent *Mabillon* as one of the antientest Instruments now extant, published first by *Josephus Maria Suarez* from the Records of *Tibur*. The Consuls mentioned in it are those of the Year 471. And the Donor therein grants, among other things, a *Thymiamaterion* for the Use of that Church. Plainly supposing the Use of *Incense*, at least in that particular Church, where it is not probable that it could have begun without the Authority and Precedent of the *Roman Church*, to which both Churches, the *Cornutian*, to which the Grant was made, and the *Tiburtine*, from whose Records it was published, were more immediately subject, as being Parts of the

Sub.

Mabillon
de Re Dipl.
L. VI. I.

Suburbicarian Jurisdiction of which the *Nicene* Canon is interpreted by *Rufinus*. It is certain, that the *Apostolical Canon* which mentions *Incense* was taken into the anti-ent *Code* which was collected and translated by *Dionysius Exiguus* into *Latin*, and dedicated to *Stephannus* Bishop of *Salona* in *Dalmatia*. That *Apostolical Canon* is the IVth in that *Collection*. And that very *Collection* was received by the *Church* of *Rome*, if we may believe *Cassiodore*, who could not be ignorant of that *Fact*, and who was coæval with *Dionysius* himself the *Author* of that *Collection*. His Words concerning those *Canons* so translated by *Dionysius*, are these: *Quos hodie usu celeberrimo Ecclesia Romana complectitur*: *Divin. Lect. c. 23*. *Complecti* sure, when it is used of a *Church*, does most naturally imply, that they were received by that *Church* for *Ecclesiastical Laws*, at least within the Extent of her *Metropolitan Jurisdiction*. This Testimony of *Cassiodore*, added to the *Constitutian Charter*, is a full Confutation of the later Original ascribed to this Custom of *Incensing*, in that same *Church* of *Rome* by *Platina*. And Pope *John II.* insists on the XXVth *Apostolical Canon* as *Law* against *Contumeliosus*. *Ep. ad Cesar. Arelatens.* about the Year 532. And that *Incense* was practised in that part of *France* where *Cesar-*

rins was, has already been observed. The Pope had *Authority* there by the Edict of *Valentinian*, and as *part* of the *Roman Province*. This Power of the Pope, in those Parts, appeared by the *Severity* used by Pope *Leo I.* against *S. Hilary* of *Arles* for asserting his own *Authority* in exercising *Discipline* on the *Subjects* of his own *Metropolitcal Jurisdiction*. Yet the same *Dionysius* warns us, that those pretended *Apostolical Canons*, which recommended this Custom, were neither *easily*, nor *universally*, received: *Plurimi consensum non præbuerè facilem*. Those are his Words in his now mentioned *Dedicatory Epistle*; by which it appears, that they were *rejected* by *more* of the *Western Churches*, at least, than did *then* receive them. That made it necessary for Pope *Hadrian* to recommend the *Code* which contained the *Latin Translation* of these *Canons* to *Charles the Great*, that, by *his Authority*, they might be received by the *other Western Churches*, which, till *then*, had *private Offices*, and *peculiar Customs* of their own, very different from those of the immediate *Papal Jurisdiction*. That is *acknowledged* to be the *time* when the *Gregarian Office* was received in the rest of *France* it self by the *Intervention* of that Prince; and was received, on account of a *general Design* of

intro-

introducing an *Uniformity* in the *Western Churches*. That therefore must have been the Meaning of *Platina*, if he had any Meaning consistent with *true History*, that in the *Age*, not by the *Person*, of *Leo III.* this Custom was first imposed upon the *Patriarchal Jurisdiction* of the *Pope*, though not by *Leo*, but *Hadrian*; not that it was then first introduced into the *See of Rome*, or the *Metropolitcal Jurisdiction* of the *Papacy*. And that no further than the *Dominions* of *Charles the Great*.

I see no Reason to doubt, but that this 44.
Practice of *Incensing* was received in the Church of *Rome*, at least, as soon as the *Apostolical Canons*, wherein it is supposed, were received by it. Nor can I see any Reason to doubt, but that *usu completi* implies the Practice of all that is supposed in those *Canons* as Rules of their then present *Usages* and received *Customs*. And who can doubt but that *Cassiodore* is a competent Witness that these *Canons* were so received by that Church, soon after they were translated by *Dionysius*? How then could *S. Isidore of Sevil*, in the next Age after *Dionysius*, deny that these *Canons* were, even in his time, not yet received by the *Roman Church*? So his Words import: *Quia eosdem nec sedes Apostolica reci-*
It was received in the Church of Rome when the Fifty Apostolical Canons were received by that Church, soon after those Canons were translated by Dionysius Exiguus. The pretended Testimony of S. Isidore of Sevil to the contrary, confuted, and proved supposititious.

pit, nec sancti Patres illis assensum præbuerunt, pro eo quòd ab Hereticis, sub nomine Apostolorum compositi dignoscuntur, quamvis in eis utilia inveniantur, tamen ab auctoritate Canonica atque Apostolica eorum gesta constat esse remota, atque inter Apocrypha deputata. Because neither the Apostolick See receives them, nor have the Holy Fathers consented to them, because they are known to be composed by Hereticks under the Name of the Apostles; though some useful Things be found in them, yet it is manifest that their Prescriptions have no Canonical or Apostolical Authority, and that they are reckoned among the Apocryphals. Yet none can doubt but that the Testimony of Cassiodore, in this Matter, is more to be regarded in a Fact so much better known to Cassiodore than it was to Isidore, though those had been the real Words of the famous Bishop of Sevil. None can doubt but that Pope John II. knew better. But, whosoever was the Author of them, they could hardly be his. The other Isidore, stiled Mercator, gives a quite contrary Account of these same Canons which pretend to be Apostolical. He supposes them received à pluribus, which Dionysius Exiguus himself supposes them not to have been, when he wrote his Dedicatory Epistle, which notwithstanding were received by the Church of

of Rome it self in an Age preceding that of *Isidore* of *Sevil*. *Isidore Mercator* also affirms them to have been ratified by *Synodal Authority* of the *Holy Fathers*, and to have been reckoned by them among the *Ecclesiastical Constitutions*, as his Words are represented from a Manuscript by *Justellus*. Quite contrary to what the same *Justellus* would have us believe to have been the Sense of his Namesake of *Sevil*. And that later *Isidore* is herein seconded by *Dionysius*, the *Translator* himself, before the time of *Isidore* the *Bishop*, who explains the *Meaning* of the *Ratification* alluded to by the later *Isidore*, when he tells us that *postea quædam constituta Pontificum ex ipsis Canonibus adsumpta esse videntur*, Afterwards some *Constitutions* of the *Popes* seem to have been taken out of them. He means the *Pontifical Epistles* of the *Popes*, which were afterwards collected and added to his *Code of Canons*, by *Dionysius* himself, and were usually the *Results* of *Synodal Determinations*, under the *Presidency* of the *Patriarch* of the *Occidental Diocese*, though conceived in the *Name* of the *Pope* alone, according to the *Style* of *Canonical Epistles*, which were *Ecclesiastical Laws* for the *Diocese* or *Exarchate* of the *President* with whose *Names* they were inscribed. *Isidore Mercator* therefore is most certainly in the right. And the *Pretender* to the greater
Anti-

Antiquity is guilty of such Mistakes as the real *Isidore* of *Sevil* could not be guilty of. He pretends that the *Holy Fathers* had condemned the *Canons* which bore the Name of the *Apostles*, as falsely pretending to that Name, and as forged by *Hereticks*. He alludes to the Words of the *Trullane Fathers* of the *Quinisext Council*, not concerning the *Canons*, which they expressly receive, but concerning the *Constitutions*, as they were called, of the *Apostles*: Ἐπεὶ δὴ ὅ ἐν ταῖς τοῖς χρόνοις ἐντέταλται δεχόμενοι ἡμεῖς τὰς τῶν ἁγίων Ἀποστόλων Δεῦρ Κληρικῶν Διατάξεις, αἷς ποὶ πάλαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπεροδοξῶν ὅτι λύμῃ τῇ ἐκκλησίας νόθα τιναὶ καὶ ξένα τῇ ὁσιότητι παρενετέθη, τὸ ὑπρεπὲς καὶ κληρικῶν δειῶν δοξάτων ἡμῖν ἀμαυρώσαντα, καὶ τὰ ποιεῖν Διατάξεων περσφόρως ἀποβολῇ πεποιήμεθα, πρὸς τὴν τῆς Χριστιανικῆς ποιμνίας οἰκοδομὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν ὑδαμὸς ἐκείνοντες τὰ τῆς Αἵρετικῆς ψευδολογίας κινήματα καὶ τὰ γνήσια τῶν Ἀποστόλων, καὶ ὁλοκλήρῳ διδαχῇ παρενείεροντες. Can. 2. But because we are commanded, in these Canons, to receive the Constitutions of the same Holy Apostles by Clement, in which Constitutions some spurious and impious things have been antiently interpolated by Hereticks, to the Hurt of the Church, obscuring the native Beauty of the divine Doctrines; we therefore very reasonably reject such Constitutions, for the Edification and Safety of the most Christian Flock, by no means confounding the spu-

rions

rious Brats of Heretical Falshood with the genuine Offspring of the Apostles, and tacking them to the pure and undefiled Doctrines. The true Isidore of Sevil could not possibly allude to this Canon which was made in the Year 691, many Years after his Death in the Year 636. Nor could the Mention of the Constitutions pretended of the Apostles (which these Fathers condemned) as confirmed by the Canons pretending to the same Name (which the same Fathers do, at the same time, approve) give that excellent Person any Occasion to confound the recommending Canons with the recommended Constitutions, and to think, consequently, that the Canons were condemned by those same Fathers who receive those Canons, which this Impostor thought to have been condemned by them. Yet when he pretends, that these Canons were not received by the Apostolick See, the Error is still more gross, and less reconcilable with the Age, as well as the Skill, of S. Isidore of Sevil. He here alludes to the Words of the pretended Pope Gelasius, in his Fictitious Council of LXX Bishops in Rome, *de libris Apocryphis*, where, among others, he has these: *Liber Canonum Apostolorum, Apocryphus. A Book of Canons of the Apostles, Apocryphal.* Whence our pretended Isidore infers, that though useful Things be found in the Work bearing that Title, yet they

they were not received by the Apostolick See, but divested by it of all Authority, and reckoned among Apocryphals: *Ab Autoritate Canonica atq; Apostolica eorum gesta constat esse remota, atq; inter Apocrypha deputata.* It is manifest that their Prescriptions are excluded from Canonical and Apostolical Authority, and that they are reckoned among Apocryphals. This the Forger thought he might securely do whilst he bore the Person of Isidore, as knowing that the Date of that pretended Synod by the Consuls of the Year 494. was really elder than the Age of even the elder and better Isidore. Not incongruously, if Pope Gelasius had any share in that pretended Council. The Consuls are plainly taken from the Decretals of Gelasius in the Collection of Dionysius Exiguus. But our Primate Usher has proved it impossible that this particular Decretal concerning Apocryphal Books could have been made in that Consulship; nor is it accordingly taken notice of by Dionysius. The learned Bishop Pearson has proved that Council as late as Isidore Mercator himself, in whose Collection we first meet with it, though that was not observed by him. In truth he has proved him later. For Mercator's Gelasius had no mention of the Canons of the Apostles; as that excellent Person has observed from the express Testi-

Vindic.
Ignar.
Part I.
c. 4.

Testimony of *Hincmare*, and of an antient Manuscript which himself had seen. He might have added the Testimony of *Isidore Mercator* himself, if he had been aware of the *Edition* of *Isidore's* entire *Code* by *Merlin*. There we have this pretended *Synod* among the *Decretals* of *Gelasius*, but without any mention of the *Canons* of the *Apostles*. Thence it appears that they were not in the *Original Forgery* of this *Council*, as it first appeared among the sophisticated *Wares* of the later *Isidore*; but that it was interpolated there by some later *Impostor*. So it will appear, That our personated *Isidore* of *Sevil* must have been later than the *Impostor* of the same Name. Otherwise he could not have reckoned on this *Interpolated Canon* unknown to *Isidore Mercator*, for proving that the *Apostolical Canons* were not received by the Church of *Rome*. But it is plain, that *Posterity* was very bold in designed Changes of Works of this nature, (which were originally counterfeit) to give credit to a Cause espoused by them. And it is as plain, that it was very much for the Interest of those who vouched *Isidore Mercator* as an Authority, that he should have been taken for the more creditable *Isidore* of *Sevil*. And it seems also plain, that both of these *Prefaces* of *Isidore* were taken into the *Decretals* of the

the middle Ages, because they are both of them, on several Occasions, quoted by *Gratian*. Yet we know of no *Collection* of *Canon Law* made by *S. Isidore of Sevil* that might have given him any Occasion of writing a *Preface* of this nature. And as little do we know, from good Monuments, concerning this other *Isidore*, who is commonly *thought* distinguishable from the better Author of the same Name, by the Appellation of *Mercator*.

45. From this time therefore, wherein this Code of *Dionysius* was received by the Roman Church, this Reception was sufficient to notify it in the Western Church in general. And this Notification was sufficient to recommend it to other Churches, when received by such an Authority, for which they had a great Reverence, even before it had any Authority that might oblige other Churches that were out of the Suburbicarian District, even before it had received any Canonical Sanction that might oblige them to receive it as a Body of Ecclesiastical Laws. Even then, they might receive it by their own free Act, and impose it on their own Subjects separately, within their own respective Districts, by the local Authorities of such Districts, and that antecedently to any Attempt, even of the Church of Rome it self, to oblige them to it. And they were likely enough

The Greek Collection of Fifty Apostolical Canons translated by Dionysius Exiguus, was elder than the present Body of Apostolical Constitutions, and the Collection of Eighty-Five Canons, under the same Name of Apostolical, derived from the last Chapter of those Constitutions.

enough to do so, if they liked the Particulars, and thought them agreeable to their own Circumstances: Especially when so recommended. For judging therefore of the Time when Incense was first received into the Western Churches, it will be convenient to enquire, when it was that these Canons were first known to the Latins. For I know no other more antient Latin Canon made originally in the Western Empire, nor any, even *Imposture*, antienter than this Translation of these Greek Canons pretended to be *Apostolical*, that either does suppose it, or pretends to an Authority, such as this was of the *Apostles*, that might recommend it, even to them who had not Skill enough to discover the *Imposture*. The first Greek Collector of Canons now extant, who mentions the *Apostolical Canons*, is John of Antioch, who was afterwards Patriarch of Constantinople. But though his *Nomocanon* was collected after Justinian's Death, whom he mentions, in his Preface to it, as being then *τὸν δεῖον διέσωσεν*; yet his Collection of Canons, among which he comprehends the LXXXV then called *Apostolical*, was before, whilst he was yet only Presbyter at Antioch, and before his Substitution to Eutychius, who was not deprived by Justinian till the Year DLXIV, in the latter end of his Reign. But in his

Preface

Preface to the Collection of Canons, he reckons only X Councils whose Canons were collected by him, the last of which is the IVth General Council of *Chalcedon*. Thence it appears that, as he made his Collection *after* the Council of *Chalcedon*, so he did it *before* the Vth General Council in the Year 553. For that Vth Council made Canons, and was the *next* in order, among the Greek Collectors of Canons, as appears from the *Preface* of *Photius* to his *Nomocanon*. He there mentions another Collector who prosecuted the Collection beyond the Council of *Chalcedon* to the Vth General Council at *Constantinople*, including the Canons of the Vth General Council also. Thence it appears, that the Vth was the next in order, and that he, who included those Canons, which *John* of *Antioch* has not, must therefore have been later than *John*, who must accordingly have made his Collection *before* the Year 553, wherein that Council was assembled, of which he takes no notice. Nor will his Age permit that he could have made that Collection much sooner, if we add the Years of his Patriarchate to be reckoned from the Year 564, wherein he obtained the Patriarchal Throne. Yet he tells us, in the same *Preface*, that he was not the *only* Person, nor the *first*, who had employed himself on

on this Subject. He mentions another Collection *before* himself, wherein the *Canons* had been digested under LX Titles, as his own is under L. Only he pretends to have been the *first*, who added the *Canonical Epistle* of S. *Basil* to them, and who digested *Canons* on the same *Argument* under the same *Titles*. These being the only *Innovations* which are owned by him; he seems plainly to suppose, that the *Apostolical Canons* had been also taken into that former Collection, and in the same number of LXXXV. Not only those L. of them which were translated by *Dionysius*. How long that former Collection was after the *Code* mentioned by the Council of *Chalcedon*, as it was afterwards augmented by the *Canons* of the Council of *Chalcedon* it self, in which that most *antient Code* of the *Universal Church* was first quoted as a *Body of Ecclesiastical Laws*, obliging at least the *Eastern Empire*, which was represented in that Council, it is not easy to determine. But I am apt to think it was some considerable time *before* the *Translation* of the *Apostolical Canons* by *Dionysius*, who translated them at some *distance* before the time of *Joannes Antiochenus*. The *Canons* of *Sardica* are reckoned by *John* as common to *his* and the former Collection mentioned by him. But *Dionysius* found it not in the

Greek Collection translated by him, which seems therefore to have been *older*, before the *Sardican Canons* were translated for the Use of that part of the Diocese of *Illyricum* which used the Greek Tongue.

46.

The Fifty Apostolical Canons were translated by Dionysius Exiguus, a considerable time before the Beginning of Justinian. The Occasion and Way observed in gathering Apostolical Canons.

But the Time when *Dionysius* made his Collection, has not yet, that I know of, been observed. He did indeed reach the time of *Justinian*, as appears from his *Pastoral Epistles*. But those learned Men are certainly mistaken, who gather thence that he made his Collection of Canons in the Reign of that Prince. His later Collection, wherein he added the *Decretals* of the Popes, as a Supplement of the *Ecclesiastical Laws*, ends in the beginning of Pope *Anastasius*, under whom he made that Collection. That is very plain from the only *Decretal* he has of that Pope, which the Pope himself owns to have been written *exordio Pontificatus*. *Gelasius*, his immediate Predecessor, died Nov. xxviii. 496. Let us therefore suppose this *Anastasius* II. to have succeeded him in that same Year, yet it must have been in the end of it. But *Dionysius*, who, as himself tells us, in his *Dedication*, never saw Pope *Gelasius*, implies thereby that his coming to Rome was after the Death of Pope *Gelasius*, whose fresh Memory he celebrates with *Encomiums*, on account of the Advantages *Julian*,
to

to whom he dedicates that Collection, had received from his Conversation with Gelasius; and that his Arrival at Rome was under the Pontificate of that Anastasius, which could hardly have been before the following Year 497. And the Mention of that Julian the Presbyter (to whom the Dedication is inscribed) observed by Justellus, under the Consulships of 488 and 499, agrees perfectly with this time; but cannot so probably be reconciled with the time of Justinian, who did not begin till 30 Years after. But Dionysius himself owns, in that same Dedication, that his Translation of the Greek Canons had been dudum, some considerable time before his Collection of the Decretals. Then he was in his own Country of Dalmatia, where Incursions of the Scythians had given him an Occasion to inhabit, who was a Scythian. That occasioned his Dedication of that Collection to a Dalmatian, not an Italian, Bishop. This therefore was some considerable time before even that elder Collection of Greek Canons under LX Titles, mentioned by Joannes Antiochenus, wherein we find the first mention of LXXXV Apostolical Canons. And I am apt to believe that this was the true Reason why Dionysius translated only Fifty Canons, because he then found no more in the original Collection from whence he

translated them, the *Greeks* themselves knowing of no more then, till the *Collection* of the present Body of *Apostolical Constitutions* added the last XXXV to the former Collection of L, which was known before him. Nor have we any Evidence of the LXXXV *Canons* which were plainly taken from that last Chapter of the *Constitutions*, nor of those *Constitutions*, as we now have them in VIII Books, elder than the time of *Dionysius*. The Code of *Ecclesiastical Canons*, which is owned for *Ecclesiastical Law* by the Council of *Chalcedon*, seems first to have put Men in mind of the Improvement that might be made of it from the *Traditional Accounts* of *Canons* made by the *Apostles*, which had been mentioned not only in several *Titles* of *Chapters* in this present Work, but several others more antient, among which were the *Constitutions* mentioned by *Epiphanius*, out of which only mutilated *Fragments* were taken in by the *Compiler* of our present *Constitutions*. The first Canon seems plainly taken from what is said in the Name of *Apostles* in this present Body, L. III. c. 20. L. VIII. c. 27. The like might probably have been observed from other antiquated *Collections* under the same Title of *Constitutions* and *Canons* of the *Apostles*, if we had them. Several other *Didona-*

διά distinct from those, are mentioned as
 still extant in the time of Balsamon, di-
 stinct from each other, according to the
 different Places wherein they were prefer-
 ved, as has already been observed by our
 Primate Usher, *Diss. de Ignat. c. 7.* out of
 the *Jus Græco-Rom.* collected by Leuncla-
 vius. And I have my self (by the favour
 of my very worthy Friend Dr. Grabe) a
 Transcript of a short MS. in the Vienna
 Library, under this Title: Αἱ Ἀγίας διὰ
 Κλήρου, καὶ χαρότες ἐκκλησιαστικαί, τῶν ἁγίων
 Ἀποστόλων. *The Constitutions [gathered] by*
Clemens, and Ecclesiastical Canons, of the
Holy Apostles. The *Constitutions* are diffe-
 rent from those of our great Body. But
 I wish the Transcriber had given some Ac-
 count of the *Apostolical Canons* promised
 by this Title. Perhaps they might have
 been no more than the L which were tran-
 slated by *Dionysius.* At least there might
 have been some of those which do not
 appear in the Body of the *Constitutions*
 themselves, but were gathered from other
 Books pretending to the Name of the A-
 postles, and S. Clement, in imitation of the
Recognitions and the *Clementines.* Yet I
 can hardly doubt but that *immemorial Tra-*
ditions, not delivered by any *Writings,*
 were also taken in, according to the Pre-
 sumption of S. Augustine and S. Hierom, who

therefore presumed them to have descended from the *Apostles*, because they were not instituted by any known *Councils*, yet were received universally. Especially where they found them mentioned in *Canons*, yet referred to an earlier Original of *antient* or *Apostolical Canons*. Such References as these, as they are now insisted on by those who favour the Pretence of their being *Apostolical*; so they might also give Occasion to the *Collectors*, whoever they were, to think them so, and to pretend a Name so useful for recommending them. Yet there was no more need of a written Body of Laws for maintaining the Churches Correspondence with each other in the Exercise of their Ecclesiastical Discipline, than there is of a written Body of Laws of Nations, for maintaining a Commerce between Civilized Nations. The manifest Reasonableness and Necessity of the Particulars themselves for maintaining Commerce and the common Interests of each particular Nation in the Maintenance of that Commerce, are alone sufficient to make the several independent Bodies unanimous in the Observation of Rules of this nature, without any Writing at all. So far they are from needing any common Sanction of any Authority acknowledged by all the Bodies that are concerned in the Observation of them, for

infor-

inforcing them. Yet the *Apostles Creed* is taken for the *Apostles*, independently on the *fabulous* Accounts, given by *later Ages*, of the *particular Apostles* which are said to be the *Authors* of each *particular Article*, in opposition to the *Creeds* made in the *Councils* of the *first Code*, which are confessed to have begun from the time of *Constantine the Great*, as is acknowledged by *S. Ildore* of *Sevil* in his *Etymologies*. So the *Canons*, of which the *Church* was found possessed in that *Epocha* of *Constantine*, from whence the *Councils*, then received, were acknowledged to commence, were reckoned as the *Apostles*, in opposition to the known *Councils*, though they could not otherwise have denied them to have had an *Original* much later than that of the *Apostles*. If this had not been the *Sense* of the *first Collectors* of *Apostolical Canons*, I cannot think why they should take those *Canons* for *Apostolical* which were first introduced by occasion of *Disputes* famous in the *History* of the *Church* before the *Times* of *Constantine*. Such were those relating to the *Disputes* concerning *Easter* in the *Time* of *Pope Victor*, concerning *Rebaptization* of *Hereticks*, in the *Time* of *Pope Stephanus* concerning the *Case* of *Origen*, whether *Eunuchs* might be *Clergymen*. The *Collector* could hardly be ignorant

rant of the Disputes which occasioned these Canons. How could he therefore mean them to be Apostolical in any other Sense than as that Word was used to signify their being older than the Age of Constantine?

47. This time of the Publication of the Apostolical Canons in the Dionysian Code, is sufficient to account for the early Instances of Incense in the Western Church.

This time therefore of the Publication of these Canons in the West by the Translation of *Dionysius Exiguus*, is, I believe, sufficient to account for the Original of this Custom of Incensing in the Western Church. Had the Custom been altogether new in those Parts, it would, in all likelihood, have so prejudiced them against these Canons, which pretended an Apostolical Original for it, that hardly any could have been disposed to have admitted the Innovation. But being extant in Greek some time before this Translation by *Dionysius*; being countenanced by some Decretals of Popes, who had taken some Expressions out of them before they were translated, as is observed by *Dionysius* himself, and of which Instances are given by the very learned Bishop Pearson; being practised within the Suburbicarian District by the Pope's Authority before that same Translation, as appears from the Charter now mentioned; those gradual Dispositions in favour of them, made their Reception more easy than otherwise it would have been,

been, even on their *first* Appearance. But even the Pope's Recommendation did not immediately prevail for the *universal* Reception of the Practice of *Incense*, or of the *Apostolical Canons* wherein it was *supposed*. S. Isidore of Sevil seems to have found nothing of *Incense* in the *Spanish Offices* of his *own* Age. He takes no notice of the Practice of *Incense* in the *Church* in his *Book of Etymologies*, where he traces the *Originals* of *Civil* as well as *Ecclesiastical* Customs then *received*. No, nor in his *Book of Ecclesiastical Offices*, professedly on the Subject, where he gives an Account of the Procedure of the *Eucharistical Form* then *received*; yet he takes no notice of *Incensing* on those Occasions; where it ought to have been expected by the Rules of the *modern Practice* of it. On the contrary, where he speaks of the *Ministration* under the *Old Law*, he mentions *Incensing* as peculiar to those Times: *Hoc tempore veterum sacrificia offerri, adolerique altari aromata & thura mos erat.* Eccl. Off. L. I, c. 20. It was, at this time, the Custom, that the *Sacrifices* of the *Antients* should be offered, that *sweet Spices* and *Frankincense* should be burnt upon the *Altar*. As much as it should seem, as it was, to offer the other *bloody Sacrifices*. And, in the same place, mentioning the Practice of the *New Testa-*

Testament answering that of the Old, he proposes nothing but the *Eucharistical Sacrifices* without any Appendages of *Incense* any more than of those *antiquated Sacrifices* with *Blood*. And as little does it appear that he knew any thing of the *Apostolical Canons*, whatever is pretended in his Name in the Passage already confuted. In his *Book of Etymologies*, he gives an Account of the *Ecclesiastical Canons* he was then acquainted with, *L. VI. c. 16*. But he mentions none but those of the first *IV. General Councils*, and the other *Assemblies* of the *holy Father*. Not one Word of any pretended *Canons* of the *Apostles*, or of any *Decretals* of *Popes*, by which it might appear that he alluded to either of the *Collections* of *Dionysius Exiguus*. He alludes plainly to the *Body* of *Canons* then received in the *Spanish Church*. *Omni stabilita vigore, quorum gesta in hoc opere condita continentur*. The *Opus* there alluded to was, in all likelihood, the *Collection* of *Martinus Bracarenfis*, in which neither *Apostolical Canons* nor *Pontifical Decretals* had any place. This *Martin* was a little before *S. Isidore* of *Sevil*, and was present at the *Council* of *Bracara* *A. D. 563*. before himself was translated to *Bracara*. The *Spanish Code* alluded to in the *Canons* of that *Council*, consisted only of the *Ca-*

nons of the General and Local Councils, without those of the Apostles. Exactly as S. Isidore, in the Place now mentioned, describes it. It is not therefore to be thought strange that he took no Notice of the Apostolical Canons afterwards, when he was Archbp. of Bragara. He could not do so if the same Code continued to the time of S. Isidore, as it appears it did from his Words now mentioned. This I observe, supposing the common Opinion true, that this Collection was indeed made by this Martin of Bragara. But, for my part, I confess, I doubt of the Truth of it. There is not one antient Testimony among those amassed by Justellus, that mentions any such Collection of Greek Canons as made by that Martin. The oldest Mention (tho' omitted by Justellus) is, I think, that of Isidore the Impostor. There we find this Collection, and under the Name of Martin. But that is far from giving Credit to what is destitute of better Testimonies. However, that may shew, that the Collection under that Name was known in the Spanish Church at least as confirmed by the better Testimony of the true Isidore. If indeed the Impostor did not intend to recommend himself by being mistaken for the truer, and more safely to be trusted, Person of that same Name, That I am apt to think to have

have been indeed the Case. Hence therefore it appears, that the *Spanish Code* had not been enlarged by *Accessions* of either kind from the time of *Martinus Bracarenfis* to that of this *other Isidore of Sevil*. Thus far therefore there appears no Reason why we should expect any *Incensing* in *Spain*, at least not as derived from these *Greek Canons*, when translated into the Language of the *Western Empire*, where it does not seem to have been originally. Yet *Paulus Emeritensis*, in his *Life of Felix* Bishop of that same See, describes that Bishop's Reception, as being with *Incense*, the *Clergy* meeting him in their *white Habits*, and the *Deacons* carrying *Censers*. *Archidiaconus cum Clero in albis venienti occurrebat, Diaconis turibula gerentibus.* c. 6. The *Archdeacon*, with the *Clergy*, met him in their *Whites*, the *Deacons* [also] carrying *Censers*. This, if true, must have been about the Year 570, a considerable time after the time of the Publication of the *Dionysian Code*, but before its Reception in *Spain* as a *Body* of *Ecclesiastical Laws*, by the particular Forwardness of the Churches of *Portugal*, or perhaps of that particular *Diocese of Merida*. A little after this, about the Year 577, we find the *Apostolical Canons* first interpolated by King *Chilperic* in a new *Quaternio* inserted into the

Body

Body of the *Gallican Code* of that Age, without the rest of the Collections of *Dionysius*. But it seems to be taken notice of by *Gregory Turonensis*, as an *Innovation*. Hist. L. V. c. 18. The *African Code* we have, as it was taken into the later *Greek Codes*, published by *Iustellus*, consisting of their own *domestick Canons*, antienter than the time of *Dionysius Exiguus*, wherein there was therefore no Reason to expect the *Apostolical Canons*. But we have another *Latin Collection* later, which takes in the *Greek Canons* also which were translated and received in the *African Church* at the time when that *Translation* was made. This was by *Ferrandus* the *Deacon*, who was famous in the Disputes raised in the time of *Justinian*. Yet neither did this include any of the *Canons* called *Apostolical*. Nor do we accordingly find any mention of *Incensing*, that I know of, in any Monuments of the *African Church*, elder than the time of *Justinian*. The first *African Code*, that we know of, that owns the *Apostolical Canons*, is that of *Cresconius*, about the Year 690, near the End of the VIIth Century. Nor did he, even then, know of any later *African Collector* than *Ferrandus*, who might have added the *Apostolical* to the other *Greek Canons*. Nor does he signify whether his own *Collection* which

which took in *all* the *Canons* he knew of (intimating that *Ferrandus* had not done so, which appears to be true to any who will compare them) had even *then*, the Force of *Ecclesiastical Laws*. So late it was before these *Apostolical Canons* could occasion the Introduction of *Incense* into *Africa*. When, or whether ever, the *Dionysian Code* was received in *Britain*, is, I believe, not easy to determine. The *Code* of *Theodore* in the Year 673, might possibly have included it, or some part of it, and some of the X *Canons* taken out of it by *Theodore* himself in the Synod of *Hartford*, and preserved by *Bede*, *Hist. Angl. L. V. c. 5.* have Expressions like those of *Dionysius* in his Translation of the *Apostolical Canons*; but with *Variations* so considerable, that we cannot reason from it with any Certainty. And I do not see how the III^d Canon, for Exemption of Monks from Episcopal Jurisdiction, could have any Foundation in any Canon, either of the *Collection* or *Age* of *Dionysius*. Nor accordingly can there I believe, be found any mention of *Incensing* in any unquestionable Monument of our *British History* of that *Age*.

48.

As the Apostolical Canons

and the Works of the pretended Areopagite were first known in the East, so the earliest Instances of Incensing are also Eastern.

stern

stern part of the Empire originally. And accordingly there it is that we find the *an-
tientest* Footsteps of this Practice in Monu-
ments of *less* questionable Credit. In the
famous *Earthquake* of *Antioch*, in the Reign
of the elder *Justin*, *Zosimus* a *Phœnician*
Monk is said to have atoned the *divine*
Displeasure against that City, by his *Pray-
ers* joined with *Incense*: Συμπατήριον ἐξήντη-
σατο, καὶ πάντα τὰ χεῖρα ἐν ᾧ καθεσμενὸς ὄν-
δυσμαίους. *Evagr. Eccl. Hist. L. IV. c. 7.* He
called for a *Censer*, and having incensed all
the while they stood there, &c. This was
in the Year 526, as *Valesius* shews in his
Notes on the preceding 5th Chapter: Be-
fore the time of *Joannes Antiochenus*, the
first *Collector* of *Canons* now extant, who
took Notice of the later Code of *Apostoli-
cal Canons*, enlarged to the Number of
LXXXV, bearing that Inscription; and
not improbably equal to the *Anonymous*
Collector, whom *John* owns for the first
Precedent of that kind, who included his
whole Collection in LX Titles, which were
by *John* himself reduced to L. And which
is more remarkable, we here find this *In-
censing* mentioned as an *Adjunct* of *Prayer*,
as it is in the Old Testament, as adding
some *Efficacy* to this holy Man's *Prayers*,
without which himself seems to have su-
spectied that his *Prayers* alone would not
have

have been so acceptable. Near about the same time it was that *Anthimus* died, a Person famous for Monastical Austerities, and that *Sabas*, by a divine Warning, is said to have come to fit him for his Departure with *Incense* and *Wax Lights*, *ὑπὸ θυμᾶμτος καὶ κηρῶν*, with *Incense* and *Wax Candles*. This is said to have been in the XXXth Year from the time that *Sabas* had fixed his Residence in that place. *Cyrill* saith, in *Vit. Sab.* n. 43. of the Edit. of *Cotelerius*, *Monum. Eccl. Græc.* Tom. III. p. 287. that *Sabas* died in the LIVth Year of his own Age, which XXX Years are to be computed from *Januar. XXI. Ind. XV. n. 27.* p. 254. That is, A. D. 492. So these Exequies will fall out in the Year 522. But it does not appear that this *Incensing* had any Relation to any *Eucharistical Office*, as that plainly had which is mentioned in the *Apostolical Canon*. The Design of that *Canon* is to confine those *Oblations* to the *Altar* which were used at the *Altar* in some *Sacerdotal Act* relating to the *Eucharistical Sacrifice* of the *Gospel*. But it seems to be a fuller Instance to this purpose, which is given by *Ischyron* in his Petition to the Council of *Chalcedon* against *Dioscorus*. He there mentions the Case of *Peristeria*, a charitable Lady, who had left a considerable Benefaction to the Church

Concil.
Chalced.
Act. III.

Church of *Alexandria*, and complains that it had been so embezzled by *Dioscorus*,
 ὡς μὴδὲ τὸ δῶδιον τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας τῆς λαμπραῆς
 τῆς μνήμῃς Περιστερίας ἀνενεχθῆναι πρὸς τὸ θεῖον,
 πὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ. So that, as much as in him
 lay, the sweet savour from the Sacrifice of the
 clear Fire, in memory of Peristeria, had not
 been offered. The Meaning is, that there
 was so little remaining of that good Lady's
 Munificence, after the ill Arts used by *Di-*
oscorus for alienating it to other Uses than
 were intended by the Foundress, that it
 would hardly suffice for a *Donary* or *Obla-*
tion to be made out of some part of it at
 the *Eucharistical* Service by which the rest
 was to receive its *Consecration*, as the di-
 vine Acceptance of the Specimen offered at
 the *Altar* in the *Eucharistical* Office was in-
 terpreted to be a *Consecration* of the re-
 maining part of the Lady's Gift for the o-
 ther sacred Uses for which it was designed
 by her. Its being offered at the *Altar* made
 it a *Sacrifice*, and in the more proper ori-
 ginal Notion of a *Sacrifice*, because it was
 consumed there. That it was consumed, is
 implied in its being called θυσίας τῆς λαμ-
 πραῆς. The Meaning of that Phrase will
 easily be understood by the Words of Sa-
 ba in his Life written by the foremention-
 ed *Cyril of Scythopolis*: Φέρε λαμπρὰ ταχέως,
 καὶ βάλε θυμιάματα. Fetch me hither quickly a
 N clear

Vit. Sab.
 n. 46. p.
 292.

clear Fire, and cast Incense on it. The Word *λαμπεα* is there rightly translated *prune* by the learned Cotelierius. But it implies withal, that those burning Coals were to be free from Smoak, that might defile the Oblation. This was therefore to be offered at the Eucharistical Commemoration of *Peristeria* in the Diptycks of the Benefactors of the Church of Alexandria, when Thanks were to be returned to God for her among the rest of them, and such Prayers were to be made for her, as S. Augustine makes in his Confessions, a considerable time before this Donation of *Peristeria*, for his deceased holy Mother; and that, as himself signifies, at her own Request. Yet without any Belief of Purgatory as a Matter of Faith; because S. Augustine, who made those Prayers, owns himself doubtful of that Doctrine; and the Greek Church, where the Fact relating to *Peristeria* was transacted, denies it to this very Day. But private Opinions, with Connivance of spiritual Superiors, were sufficient for introducing Innovations even into Ecclesiastical Offices, antecedently to any Judicial Determinations concerning Affairs of this Nature. And, when they took, they often made way for such Prejudices as had a great Influence on the later Determinations themselves. This therefore is urged as a
great

great Aggravation of the Disingenuity, as well as Dishonesty, of Dioscorus, that he did, as much as in him lay, by his false Dealing, rob his Benefactress, not only of the Honour redounding to her Memory, by the Thanks which ought to have been returned to God in her behalf, both for her Benefaction to themselves, and for God's Favour to her in granting her a happy Departure; but also of the Benefit that she might hope for, by the Opinions then received, in her separate State, by the united Prayers of the Church, which were, at the same time, to have been offered for her. However, before this Incensing was brought into the Offices of the Church, there was another Use of it, among private Persons, for signifying their Joy for a public Benefit, answerable to our present Customs of Bonfires and Illuminations. Such was that which is mentioned by S. Cyril of Alexandria, on occasion of his Success in the Ephesine Council in condemning Nestorius, *ὡς καὶ γυναικας, διπλοαρχερα νεστωριου, ὡς καὶ νεστωριου, ἡμεῖς*. So that the Women, with Censers in their hands, went before us. This Thurification performed by Women, though on an Ecclesiastical Success, could hardly have been with consecrated Censers. So far it must have been from a Sacerdotal Act performable only by a consecrated Person,

Ep. ad
Cler. &
Pop. Alex-
andr.
Tom. VI.
L. II.
p. 87.

son, in a *holy Office*, and in a *holy Place*, the *Altar* it self, the *Christian Holy of Holies*. The Custom of signifying their publick Joy this way, was derived, as most other *Innovations* of this kind were, from the *Heathens*, who had received it before any Prospect of the *Empire's* receiving the *Christian Religion*. And the Design of the good *Women* mentioned by *S. Cyril*, in using it, was to signify their owning the *Hand of God* in it. That is the Reason given by *S. Saba* for his offering *Incense* in the place now mentioned: Ἐμοῦ καὶ ὁ θεὸς γέγονεν ἡμῶν καὶ ὁ ὡραὶ πάντων. And *Anastasius Sinaita* (as *Cotelerius* quotes his Words from an *Orat. not extant*, *Not. ad Tom. III. Mon. Eccl. Græc. p. 598.*) refers it to a Presence of *Angels*: Συμμάχων πλὴν καὶ ἀγγελικῶν παρυσίων ἐδεάσατο. That being the ordinary way of *God's* presentiating himself by the *Angels* of his Presence, as has already been observed by the Judicious *Mr. Mede*. This will exactly agree with what I have observed before, *S. 33.* that *Incensing* was then taken for an *Acknowledgment* of a *divine Appearance*. For so the *ἐμφανείαι* of the *Gods* are usually described, as signified by *fragrant Scents*. So *Virgil* in the Apparition of *Venus*: Ambrosiæque comæ Divinum vertice odorem spiravere. *Æneid. I. v. 403.* And such a *Scent* remaining afterwards was taken for a *Token*

ken * of a divine Apparition. Ovid. *Mansit* * Turneb. Adversar. L. III. c. 39.
odor, posses scire fuisse Deam. Fast. L. V. For *Ambrosia* was not only taken for the Food
 of their Gods, but for their *Unguent* also, with which their *Hair* was perfumed
 then as it is now with Powder. So *Servius* on that Place: And again *Æn.* XII. v. 419.
 Accordingly the same Poet describes the *Elysian Fields*, the place of the Happy: *Inter odoratum lauri nemus.* *Æn.* VI. v. 658. As *Tibullus* also does L. I. Eleg. III. As *Plutarch* also does in his Books *De Ser. Numin: vindictâ*, and *De facie in orbe Luna.*
 Accordingly the same Poet describes *Circe*, a Goddess, performing her Night-work by a Fire of *odorata cedrus.* *Æn.* VII. v. 13.
 before the Invention of *Lamps* or *Candles.* And *Cyrene* the Nymph fits her Son *Aristæus* for Conversation with the Prophetick God *Nereus*, by first perfuming him with *Ambrosia.* *Georgic.* IV. v. 415. *Unxit eum, quo posset esse videndi numinis capax,* are the Words of *Servius* on that place. So suitable it was to the received Notions among the Heathens, to make their Acknowledgment of an extraordinary Interposition of divine Providence by this way of *Thurification.* It was then a new Generation since the Conversion of the Empire, that had then never been acquainted with the Aversation their Predecessors had for Incense,

nor how unsuitable their Ancestors had thought it to the Nature of the Supreme Being, whom the Christians had always professed themselves to worship, and none besides him. Thus it will appear probable that this Custom of Sacrificial Incensing began between the time of Cyril and Dioscorus, even in the Eastern Church, though the Practice of congratulatory Incensing, by private Persons, might have been considerably ancients. Yet the first Collector of the Apostolical Canons, not being aware of the Difference, and knowing it to be beyond his own Memory, and being ignorant of the true Original of it, might, for that Reason, presume it to have been of an Apostolical Original.

49.
The Testimony of Ephraem Syrus in his Last Will, particularly considered, as to this Affair.

The antientest Testimony for it that is pretended, after what has been said concerning Hippolytus, is the last Testament of Ephraem Syrus, which will therefore deserve a more particular Consideration. I wish we had his own Original. For want of it, we must be forced to content ourselves with the Latin Translation of Gerard Vossius of Tongres. That therefore which that good and humble Man seems to aim at, in what he there says, relating to the Treatment of him after his Departure, is, to beg all the Assistance that a Sinner might need, and, at the same time, to forbid

bid all the Pomp, and Tokens of Respect, which so great a Sinner, as he supposes himself to be, could not deserve, on that very Account, of his being so great a Sinner. He hopes they will make mention of him in their commemorative Prayers, p. 289. as S. Augustine's Mother did, near the same time. He desires that they would remember him, a vile abject Wretch, in their holy Prayers; warning them withal, that, if they could [by their corporeal Senses] receive the Scent of his Actions, they would all avoid him, and leave him unburied, as being unable to endure the Stench of them, p. 292. Against them who should embalm him with Myrrh, he imprecates a Portion in the burning Furnace and Fire of Hell. He forbids any to light any Wax Torch for him [according to the Custom of Christian Funerals of that Age] that themselves, as well as their Torches, might not be consumed with Fire, p. 293. These are such Transports of Zeal against Persons supposed to offend in a right hand Error, of too much Respect to him, as would more become the indiscreet Heats of the Testaments of the middle and lower Ages (wherein they are too frequent) than the unaffected Simplicity of that happier Age wherein this glorious Saint is supposed to have made this Will. S. Chrysostom, in the same Age,

has a *Homily* against the too easy and frequent Use of *Anathema's*, on Occasions not *highly criminal* and *momentous*. And he therein produces an Expression of an *anonymous Apostolical* Author, that *Anathema's* ought to be used, like the *Imperial Purple*, which was utterly *forbidden* to Persons that were not of an *extraordinary* Character. Nor would the truly *humble* charitable *Ephraim* have assumed this Liberty to the *hurt* of a well-meaning *Brother's Soul*, how little soever a *personating Sophist* (who had no further Regard than to the pretty turn of the Comparison of the *Fire* of the *Wax Candles* with the *Fire* of *Hell*) might make of it. However, this plainly shews, that the *Odours* hitherto mentioned, were only such as were to be used in *embalming* his *Body* or in his *Funeral Procession*. For so he adds afterwards: *Oro vos dilectissimi, ne cum aromatibus me sepeliatis. Non enim insipienti ac stulto conveniunt deliciae: Sed neque gloria decet inglorium; neque alius boni odoris fumus eum, qui putredo est, & pulvis terra.* P. 293. I beseech you, dearly beloved, that you will not bury me with sweet *Odours*: for *Pleasures* do not agree with a weak and foolish Person. Nor does *Glory* become him who is *inglorious*; nor does any other *Steam* of pleasing *Perfume* become him who is *Rattenness*,
and

and the Dust of the Earth. This Reasoning, here insisted on, for denying him Funeral Honours, as the vilest of Men, would conclude as strongly against the Use of such Honours in general, how glorious soever the Persons were to whom such Honours were paid, if notwithstanding they were no more than mortal Men. The same might be said of the best Men that ever were, even of the Martyrs themselves. And it was, about the time of S. Ephraem himself, objected against the Honourers of the Reliques of the Martyrs by Vigilantius, who gave them the opprobrious Title of *Cinerarii* for the Respect to those revered Ashes. And how could a truly humble Man undervalue himself, and insist on that as an Argument of Self-humiliation, that might, as truly, be applied to the greatest and holiest Persons as to himself? This looks more like a Sophist personating a good Man, to shew his own Wit, without that Observation of *Decorum*, which would be natural to the good Man himself in acting his own Person with the Simplicity and Veracity which would be more natural to his true Character than any vainglorious Observation of Fancy or Aggravation beyond precise Truth. Yet our Testator adds at last: *At date vaporationem fumi boni odoris in domo Domini; & me orationibus potius vestris*

S. Hieron.
Ep. ad
Ripar. &
adv. Vig.

vestris comitamini, & aromata Deo offerte. Me verò fletibus sepelite, in doloribus conceptum; & pro suavi odore, aromatibusque polulentibus, vestris me Orationibus deprecationibusque adjuvate, obsecro, semper mei in ipsis memoriam facientes. Quid enim mortuo proderit suavis odor jam sensu carenti? Vestra porro Incensa adole in domo Dei, ad gloriam & laudem ipsius, quoniam & ipse ibi inhabitat. P. 293. But give an Evaporation of sweet-smelling Smoak in the House of God, and accompany me rather with your Prayers, and offer your sweet Savours to God. But bury me with Tears, who was conceived in Pains; and, instead of sweet Scent and shining Spices, assist me, I beseech you, with your Prayers and Intercessions, always making mention of me in them. For, what Good can a sweet Scent do to one that is dead, and has no Sense by which he might perceive it? As for your Incenses, burn them in the House of God, to his Glory and Praise, because he also dwells there. The good Man is here personated with much more Art than in the former Expressions of this same Will. He plainly here distinguishes between what he might expect at his Funeral, by the Customs of that Age, and the Opinion they had of him, who were likely to perform that last Office to him; and what was to be performed for him

at

at the *Altar* after his *Interment*. He very well knew the great *Opinion* they had of him who were likely to celebrate his *Funeral Solemnities*; and how that *Opinion* would oblige those, who would be so concerned, not to be sparing in the *Honours* they could confer upon him, upon that Occasion. What that *Opinion* was, we may learn from his *Encomium* on *S. Basil*, concerning whom himself had the same *Opinion* that others had concerning him. That is, that he was a living *Temple* of the *Holy Ghost*, as to his *Body* as well as his *Soul*, according to the *Reasonings* of the *Sacred Writers* themselves. So he calls *S. Basil* $\omega\nu\delta\mu\alpha\lambda\omicron\phi\acute{o}\epsilon\omicron\nu$ in his Greek published by *Cotelerius*, P. 56. In the same Sense as *Ignatius*, another *Syriack Writer*, had the Appellation of $\Theta\epsilon\omicron\phi\acute{o}\rho\omicron$, for his admirable *Sanctity*. As the $\tau\acute{o}$ $\chi\rho\epsilon\acute{\iota}\tau\lambda\omicron\nu$ did $\epsilon\nu\alpha\gamma\gamma\epsilon\lambda\iota\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\nu$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ $\chi\epsilon$ $\epsilon\mu\omega\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\eta\sigma\alpha\iota$. Pag. 58. Which are the Words of the *Old Testament* concerning the *State* to which we are advanced by the *Gospel*, which alone confers the *divine Nature*, the *baptismal Spirit*, to those who are not wanting to themselves in rebelling against it. $\Sigma\epsilon$ $\nu\alpha\delta\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\chi\alpha\iota\nu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\pi\alpha\nu\epsilon\upsilon\mu\epsilon\gamma$ $\tau\acute{o}$ $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$. P. 67. This the *Testator* obviates in the last Words of his *Testament*, where he would have all that *Honour*, that would otherwise have been paid

Coteler.
Mém. Græc.
Tom. III.

S. Hiero-
nym. adv.
Vigilant.

paid to his *Body*, as an Ingredient of the *living Temple*, reserved to the *Church*, the *House of God*, *quoniam & ipse ibi inhabitat*. Meaning that what was, upon that account, thought *due* to his *Memory*, would more certainly redound to the *Honour* of *God*, if it were paid in the *Assembly* of the *Saints*, than in him, who took himself for an *unworthy Member* of that *Assembly*, unfit for the *Habitation* of that pure *Spirit*, by his *Sins* committed *after* his *Baptism*. The former *Odours* therefore, and *Spices*, which he *forbids*, can be only understood of his *embalming*, and some *sweet scenting Ingredients* in the *Cerei*, the *Wax Candles* made use of in the *Funeral Processions*. So the *Cerei* that were *lighted* at the reading of the *Gospels*, were afterwards turned into the late *aromatick Fumigations* unknown to *S. Jerom*, who mentions the *Cerei* in the *Age* of *S. Ephraem*. And, instead of those *Fumigations* at his *Funeral* to be performed to *him*, that which he desires in the *Church* to be performed to *God*, in his *behalf*, is plainly their solemn *Prayers*, the *mystical Incense*, which is *owned* by all those *Fathers* who expressly *disown* that *Incense* which is *literal*. So *himself* explains it in the last *Words*, now transcribed. The *Prayers* and *Deprecations* in the former *Sentence* are plainly the *same* with the *Incense* and

and the *Adolections* in the latter. Nothing, to be sure, in his own *Praise*, which his *Humility* has taken so great Care to obviate. Nothing like that which related to the *Praise* of the *Deceased*, which is mentioned by the pretended *Areopagite*, who lived after the Introduction of *literal Incense*.

As therefore I have shewn, that this Practice was later in the *Western* than in the *Eastern Churches*; so, by how much the *antienter Copies* we have of *Liturgies*, we find so much the fewer Footsteps of this Practice in them. The *Spanish Mosarabick Offices* are ascribed to *S. Isidore of Sevil* by themselves. And that *Incense* could have no place in *Offices* composed by him, I have shewn by his own Account of the *Ecclesiastical Offices* of his own Church and Age. And they, being the same with the *Gallican*, especially of that part of *Gallia Narbonensis*, which was under the *Gothick Kings* who reigned in *Spain*; it will thence appear probable, that it was not then used in the *Gallican Liturgies* of that same Province in that same Age, though it might possibly have been otherwise where *Chilperick* had added the *Apostolical Canons* translated by *Dionysius*, to the old *Gallican Code*, if that *Accession* had been ratified by the *Council* in which *Chilperick* produced it, as most probably it was not. Nor does *Mabillon* himself judge it probable that the

50.

The eldest MSS. of the Western Liturgick Offices have no mention of Incense. The latest of those which is elder than Charles the Great, has, which can be no elder than the Year 754. Published by Father Mabillon.

De Liturg.
Gallic.
Præf. S. 9.

the *Innovations* attempted by Pope *Vigilius* in *Spain* held long, of what kind soever they were. All *Spain* was soon after united in one *Form*, and that different from the *Romans*, and agreeing with the *Gallican*. Yet the *Gallican*, long after the time of *S. Isidore*, has no mention of *Transubstantiation*. That which *Mabillon* calls the *Gothick*, or *Gothico-Gallican*, and which he takes for the *antientest* he knew of, takes no notice of any such Custom then known in the *Gallican* Church. Yet the Manuscript it self is not judged above 900 Years old by them who saw it. And I believe they guessed pretty near the true time in which it was written. It mentions *S. Leodegarius* as a *Martyr*, p. 283. who suffered A. D. 678. Thence it is certain that the Manuscript must have been later than that Year. Nor does it appear how long later it was. It has Words taken out of the *Acts* of *S. Andrew*, P. 222. which that excellent Person now named observes to have been taken notice of in *Spain* in the Controversy concerning *Elipandus* of *Toledo*, in the time of *Charles the Great*. Then it was indeed first known in *Spain*. And therefore probably those *Acts* were first forged there. For they are condemned in the *Decretal* of Pope *Gelasius de Libris Apocryphis*, under the Title of *Actus S. Andree*

dree Apostoli, which, as I have already observed, first appears among the *Wares* of *Isidore*, which were brought out of Spain by *Riculphus* Archbishop of *Mentz* from the Year 786 till some Years after *Charles the Great's Death* in 814, to whose Will he was a Witness. But it is not likely that the *Authors* of that *Liturgy* would have taken any thing out of those *Acts* after they knew of this condemnatory Sentence against them pretended in the Name of Pope *Gelasius*. And therefore probably it was framed before the Promulgation of *Isidore's Collection*, which quickly made them known over all *France*, by the Account of *Hincmar*. This will agree well enough with the mention of it by the Abbot *Beatus* in his Book against *Elipandus*, who was condemned in the Council of *Frankford* A. D. 794. And it will make the Conjecture of those learned Men, who saw the *Autographon* of this *Liturgy*, not improbable, supposing that *Autographon* to be an Original of those Times wherein this *Liturgy* was used, before the Introduction of the *Gregorian Sacramental* by *Charles the Great* himself. So it will fall out between the *Death* of *Leodegarius*, and before the *Pseudo-Gelasius* of *Isidore* was known out of Spain, where it was first forged. As little mention there is of *Eucharistical Incensing*

Hincmar.
Opusc. LV.
Cap. c. 24.

q. 111
q. 112
q. 113
q. 114

sing in the other two *Gallican Liturgies* written in *Hands* attesting their Antiquity, and published by the same Learned and Judicious *Mabillon*. The *Gallicanum vetus*, reprinted by him in his *Liturg. Gallic.* and the *Sacramentarium Gallicanum* first published by him in his *Iter Italicum*. He thinks *both* of them *later* than that now mentioned. Yet *neither* of them were likely to have been *later* than the Introduction of the *Roman Sacramentary* into *France* by *Charles the Great*. That seems to have been the *Reason* why the Manuscripts of the old *Gallican Liturgies* are *now* so rare, because there was little Encouragement for the Pains of the *Transcribers* after they were *disused*. The only one of those which are published by that ingenious Person that mentions that *Eucharistical Frankincense*, is the *Missale Francorum*, P. 314. But that *Missal* (as it is *before* the *Roman Office* was introduced into *France* by *Charles the Great*, so it) must needs have been *after* *Jul. XXVIII. A. D. 754*. wherein that same Prince was made *King* together with his Brother *Carolomannus*, during their *Father's* Life-time. That both of them were *Crowned* on that *Day* of that *Year*, we have from the most certain Testimony of the *Postscript* of Pope *Stephen's* 3d Ep. in the *Areopagitic.* of *Hilduine*. That was the *first* time,

In fin. Ep.
III. ap.
Hilduin.
Areopag.

time, after the Death of *Leodegarius*, when it was seasonable to pray for *Kings* of the *Franks*, in the *Plural* Number, as is done in this Office. The Title is, *pro Regibus*, P. 316. who are afterwards called *Francorum Regni Principes*, and *Francorum nominis ubique Rectores*. P. 317. The Expressions imply no fixed *Districts* of these several *Kings*, but *ubique*. Which was truly their State till the Death of *Pepin* the Father, A. D. 768. Afterwards the two *Brothers* were solemnly anointed in their several *Jurisdictions*, and from thence reckoned the Years of their *Reign*, till the Death of *Carolomannus*, A. D. 771. which united the whole *Kingdom* under his Brother *Charles*, who was afterwards surnamed the Great. After that there was no use of the old *Gallican Liturgy*, nor any Pretence for praying for *Plural Kings* in it. And when the *Jurisdictions* were adjusted, there can be little doubt but that each *King* was named in the *Prayers* which were used in his own peculiar *Kingdom*. This *Liturgy* therefore can fit no time but this *Interval* between the middle of the Year 754, and the end of 768. And it was a convenient time for *Pope Stephen*, when there were such fresh *Endearments* between him, and the *Kings* of this new Race introduced by his Predecessor *Zachary*, to bring in this

Innovation of Eucharistical Incense into the old Gallican Liturgy, as well as he did another, at the same Season, that of the Canticus Romanus. And it must have been before the Ind. X. was elapsed A. D. 757, if this Pope Stephen III. was the Author of it. It is observable to this purpose, that Pope Stephen himself pretends that Dionysius the Areopagite, when he restored the Pope to his Health, used Incense for impetrating that Favour from God. So Stephen himself in Regino. That might be a Recommendation of Incense to that part of France, that they were perswaded, that their new Patron used it. Especially, when presented, at this critical time of their receiving this new Patron, to whom I do not find that they laid any Claim before. Which will yet bring the Time into a narrower Compass. Yet not so narrow, but that the other two Offices which were antecedent than this, yet later than the eldest which was after the Year 678, may very conveniently come within the same space of time. So very much Morinus was out, who judged the Manuscript it self to be written about the Year 560. But the Passage observed out of Gregory's Sacramentary, and the many other Places out of the Ordo Romanus by the worthy Father Mabillon, were so many Arguments of
such

such a *Change* as might have been expected in a *time* of such *Caresses* with the *Pope* before the *intire* Reception of the *Roman Office* under *Charles the Great*. The others, that are elder, mention the *Missa Romanensis* as alien, and with more *Reservedness*. So late this *Practice* appears to have been in the *Publick Offices*, even in *France*, where there were so early *Indearments* between their *Princes* and the *Popes*.

Yet this *Change*, how long soever it was after the *Originals* of the *Christian Religion*; seems notwithstanding to have been the *first* considerable *Innovation* that was made in the *Publick Gallican Offices* in favour of, and compliance with, those of *Rome*. And the time of it appears from this *Missal* of the *Franks*, if the *Reasonings* I have given for settling the *time* of that *Missal* hold. *Charles the Great* owned his *Father* as his *Precedent* for his *Attempts* of this kind for bringing the *Gallican Churches* to a nearer *Conformity* to that of *Rome*. And the Words of *Walafridus Strabo* are full to this Purpose, both as to the *Change* of the *Gallican Office* relating to the *singing* part of it, and to the *time* wherein that *Change* was made. They are these: *Cantilenæ verò perfectiorem scientiam, quam pene jam tota Francia diligit, Stephanus Papa, cum ad Pipinum pa-*

51.

The more general Change of the Western Offices in favour of those of Rome, occasioned by the Heresy of Elipandus Toleranus, and therefore later than the Year

794.

*trem Caroli Magni (in primis in Franciam) pro justitiâ S. Petri à Longobardis expetendâ venisset, per suos Clericos, petente eodem Pipino, invexit, indeque usus ejus longe lateque convaluit, de reb. Eccl. c. 25. But Pope Stephen brought in that more perfect Form of Singing (which now almost all France affects) when he came the first time into France, to Pipin, the Father of Charles the Great, intending that Justice might be done to S. Peter against the Longobards. This he did, by his Clergy, at the Request of the same Pipin. And, from that time forward, the Use of it has prevailed far and near. He owns it to have been introduced by Pope Stephen III. Yet not without the Request of Pipin. And he assigns it to that very time, when Stephen first came into France, to desire the Assistance of Pipin against Aytulphus the King of the Longobards. And agreeably enough to the Testimonies of other Writers concerning the same Particulars. Yet these Concessions of K. Pipin in Paris did not extend to all France. They were extended to other Parts by degrees. Even in Strabo's time, it was only almost all France that was pleased with them. Thence we may understand how the Words of Sigebert are to be limited, when he tells us, that this *Authenticus cantus* was first brought by Charles the*

the

the *Great* into the Church of *Metz* in the Year 774; and that, by the Authority of that Church, all *France* was recalled to the Authority of the *Roman* way of *Singing*. This can be understood of no other Part of *France* but that which had not received it under *Pipin*; nor of any other but that where the Church of *Metz* might recommend it by its own *Precedent*. Very probably that part of *France* which had made the Kingdom of *Austrasia*. Yet so, as that this *universal* Reception did not obtain in the time of *Charles* himself, but was then only *begun*, as appears by the forementioned Words of *Strabo*. However this concerned only one of the *Roman* Offices, the *Antiphonarium*. It was late before the *Roman* *Gregorian* *Sacramentary* (which was that wherein the *Eucharistical Incense* was concerned) was recommended to the other Parts of *France*, which had not received so much of it as is contained in the *Missal* of the *Franks* under *K. Pipin* and *Pope Stephen III.* *Elipandus* of *Toledo* seems to have given the Occasion of urging and imposing a *Uniformity* in the *Ecclesiastical* Offices, by his insisting on some Expressions in the old * Offices of * *Epist.* *Toledo* as favouring his own *Heresy*, That *Synodi* the *Man* *Christ* was only an *adoptive Son* *Francos.* *ad Prasul.*

Hispan. Tom. III. P. 1. Sect. post Concil. Bin. Edit. 1618. p. 149, 150.
Paulin. Aquileius contr. Felic. L. VII.

of God. This *Heresy* was condemned in him in the Year 794. He derives those *Offices*, which he thought favourable to his Purpose, from three of his Predecessors in the same See, *Eugenius*, *Hildephonsus*, and *Julian*, though the Council takes no notice of any but *Hildephonsus*. This recommended the Design of an *Uniformity* of *Liturgies*, as well in other parts of it as that which was called properly the *Canon* of the *Mass*, (with us the *Second Service*) after the *Dismission* of those who were not to be admitted to that part of the *Communion*, by the Rules of the *Ecclesiastical Discipline* then received. For preventing the like *Innovations* of the *Faith* from the *Alterations* of *Liturgies* of particular Churches, which were changeable at the Pleasure of the particular respective *Metropolitans*, it was thought expedient that all *Offices* should be every where the same. And none was thought so fit to be made a *Standard* for the rest as that of *Rome*. Not only on account of the *Deference* then paid to the only *Occidental Apostolical See* and *Patriarchate*, but especially for that *Observation* which had been first made by *Rufinus*, that no condemned *Heresy* had been received at *Rome*. Yet this *Observation* was less questionable in the time of *Rufinus*, than in the time

of Charles the Great, after the Imputations of Heresy to Vigilius and Honorius. However, this gave a very plausible Pretence for endeavouring an Uniformity in the Western Liturgies by imposing the Roman Forms on other Churches, which was so zealously promoted by Charles the Great. But this Occasion was not given till the Offices of his own Church of Toledo had been pleaded by Elipandus in favour of his Heresy. Nor was there any Ecclesiastical Authority so competent, for over-ruling the Prejudices of particular Churches, which might, in Prudence, be expected against so considerable an Innovation as this was, as that of this Council which was assembled out of all the Dominions of that then very potent Prince, though it be not mentioned in the few remaining Manuscripts of that Council. No more than what we have of what was decreed in that same Assembly against the second Nicene Council, though we have Testimonies of Authorities well qualified for knowing what was then undertaken, that they did indeed give their Opinion, and that judicially, concerning that Dispute. But we have now nothing left of that Council, in Form of Conciliar Acts or Sessions, or even Subscriptions, which gave the Conciliary Determinations the Sanction that made them

them *Ecclesiastical Laws*. Nothing but a few publick Instruments which were probably read and approved in the Council, tho' without any Evidence that might pass for a legal Proof that indeed they were so. And this only with relation to the Spanish Heresy, which continued some while after this most solemn Condemnation of it, and thereby obliged the Condemners of it to keep up the Memory of the Sentence which themselves had pronounced against it. Whereas the Cause of Images (in which Pope Hadrian himself was so concerned by his Legates) quickly found Patrons obliged, in Interest, to suppress what was done in that Affair, as soon as it might be consistent with the Respect due to the Caroline Book, on account of the Name of the Emperor with which it was inscribed. This was very probably the Cause why even these few Memoirs of that Council, which were then thought to be of more lasting Importance, have escaped the Ruin that has obliterated the Memory of its other Acts. Yet even they have notwithstanding wanted the Subscriptions, which bught, in course, to have been expected for recommending them. However, this may suffice to let us see how insecure it is to argue negatively from the remaining Monuments of that Council, as if they had not

at all concerned themselves in this Particular of recommending the Roman Offices, because there appear no Intimations of such a Design in the few *Fragments* of that Council, which have reached our time. Yet, it being manifest that Charles did indeed endeavour this *Uniformity* of Ecclesiastical Offices in the Countries subject to him; and that he did, in a great measure, attain his Desire; and that nothing did fall out so plausible for his Purpose as this ill Use that was then made of the received Spanish Liturgies by Elipandus, which was taken notice of by this very Council; and that nothing could make the Change so universal, and yet withall so easy, as it appears it was, as the concerting the Matter in this Council, wherein Bishops were assembled from all Parts of that Prince's Dominions; and how likely it was that those Bishops who had condemned that Use of the Spanish Offices in the Case then depending before them of Elipandus, must observe how expedient a *Uniformity* in Divine Offices would be for preventing the like dangerous Innovations in the Faith for the future; and withall, how unlikely it was that, having once observed it, they should not have laid hold on the present Opportunity of their being then assembled, for concerting it, and agreeing on Endeavours

vours for promoting it before their Departure to their several Charges: I say, these Things being considered, this latter end of the Reign of this great Prince is the most likely Time for effecting that Change which was most certainly effected by him. The Words of *Escherius* and *Beatus* to *Elipandus* himself, soon after the Publication of his Heresy, shew that, even then, they were sensible of the Necessity of such a Design. They are these: *Et quicumque sibi preces aliunde describit, non eis utatur, nisi prius cum instructoribus contulerit fratribus. Id est, preces quas suggerit, à Catholicis prius imbutur.* And whoever transcribes Prayers for himself, from any other Copy, let him not use them, unless he first compare them with more skilful Brethren. That is to say, Let him first be advised by Catholics, concerning the Prayers which he proposes as fit to be introduced. So they in Answer to the Letter of *Elipandus* to them, bearing Date in October of 823 of the Spanish Hera, that is, A. D. 785. But probably in the following Year, because they did not receive it till Nov. XXVI.

52. The Time of this Change being thus reduced within the last XX Years of this The Galli- can Sacra- mentary, published by *Mabailon*, was of the Austrasian District, where the Roman Practice of Thurification was received later than at Paris. Yet no elder than the Time of *Charles the Great*, who elder than the Introduction of the Gregorian Sacramentary. suc-

successful Prince, will, if I mistake not, give us some Light for judging of the Time of the *Gallican Sacramentary* first published by the already mentioned excellent Father Mabillon, in his *Iter Italicum*, from a *Dobrian Manuscript*. It is certainly elder than the Reception of the *Roman Office*, by the Means of *Charles the Great* in those Parts, for which it was calculated. That is, before the Reception of it in *Austrasia*. Its Agreement with the *Luxovian Lectionary*, observed by the Reverend Father himself, and published from a Library within that Jurisdiction, and its Celebration of the *Martyrdoms* of the *Burgundian King Sigismund* p. 344, fit that Place best of all the *Gallican Provinces*. And its Omission of *St. Genovefa*, observed also by the same Father, p. 297, shew that it was not intended for the *Parisian District*, where the *Roman Offices* were received by the Endeavours of *K. Pipin* and *Pope Stephen III.* And *Charles the Great* was the first that brought in the *Cantus Romanus* into *Metz*, the Royal Seat of the *Austrasian Kings*, a very fit Original for propagating it into the rest of the Kingdom of *Austrasia*, including *Burgundy*, as well as *Lorraine*, and consequently over all *France*, as *Sigebert* tells us it did, (though *Walafridus Strabo* limits it with a pene) sup-

supposing it already received at *Paris*, the head City of the *whole* Kingdom. This *Innovation* *Sigebert* ascribes to the Year 774, XX Years after it had been received at *Paris*. This of the *Cantus* was the first degree of Approach to the *Roman* Offices, and therefore shews that the *Change* was later where this *Gallian* *Sacramentary* was used, than it was at *Paris*. But the Reverend Father conceives that the *Sacramentary* I am speaking of, was elder than the Time of *Charles the Great*. Yet the same very deserving Person owns it to be later than the *Gotho-Gallick* Office, which notwithstanding was later than the *Martyrdom* of *S. Leodegarius* A.D. 678. Nor has he produced any Argument to shew that it was soon after that *Martyrdom*. On the contrary, the same learned Father has observed several nearer Approaches to the *Roman* Offices in this *Sacramentary*, than in the others, which had been published by him formerly. So that we have thence Reason to believe it considerably later than them, when the degrees to *Uniformity* (which began later here than in other Parts of *France*) were notwithstanding further advanced than where the same Design of *Uniformity* had been undertaken before. Of this kind he gives Instances P. 360, 380, 381, 383, and refers to others. His Obser-

vation

vation that the Appellation of *Dominus* is generally prefixed to the Name of *Jesus* in the *Lessons*, P. 278, even in Places where it was *not* in the Text (though *not* destitute of the Authority of the Text in other places) looks plainly like a Design against the *Heresy* so often mentioned of *Felix* and *Elipandus*, who so much insisted on those Passages of the *Old Testament* wherein our Blessed Lord is called a *Servant*, and thence inferred a kind of *Equality* between *Holy Men* and the *Man Christ Jesus*. Thence they pretended them to be *cum Adoptivo Adoptivos*, & *cum Advocato Advocatos*, & *cum Christo Christos*, & *cum Parvulo Parvulos*, & *cum Servo Servos*. *Adoptive Sons like him who is Adoptive*, and *Intercessors as he is an Intercessor*, and *Christs with Christ*, and *Children as he was a Child*, and *Servants as he also was a Servant*. They are the Words of *Elipandus* in his *Letter* Lib. I. and *Confession of Faith* preserved by *Ethe-* P. 485. *rius* and *Beatus*. Thence those Words in the *Synodal Epistle* of the Council it self: *Credamus eum Dominum, & non Servum*. *Let us believe that he is Lord, and not a Servant*. And in other Passages of the *Orthodox Writers* on that Subject. This therefore must probably have been after the Year 785, because *Elipandus's Epistle* of that Date, gave *Etherius* and *Beatus* the

* Quod vero quendam Beatum Abbatem & Discipulum ejus Hitherium Episcopum dicitis, buic vestrae sectae primum contraire, &c. Paulin. Aquileiens. L.I.3. But where as you say, that a certain Abbot called Beatus, and a Disciple of his, one Hitherius, a Bishop, were the first that opposed this your Sect, &c.

† Ap. Bin. p. 148.

the Occasion of their Answer, which was made in the * beginning of that new Heresy, as appears by the Testimony of *Paulinus Aquileiensis*. The Prince therefore here mentioned in the singular Number, *Sacramentar. p. 378, 379.* cannot be understood of any so probably as of *Charles the Great* himself. He was plainly after the plural Kings of the *Franks* mentioned in the *Missal* of the *Franks*. He it was that had to do with the *Barbarous Nations*. *Sacrament. p. 371.* The like Prayers for his Success against the *Barbarous Nations*, are mentioned in the *Libellus Sacrosyllabus* † sent about in his Name, by his Authority, Encyclically, though penned by *Paulinus Aquileiensis*. And such indeed they were against whom *Charles* was concerned in most of the Wars of his time. The Insertion observed by the worthy Editor, *Missa pro Regibus, P. 378.* might very well fit the Settlement made by *Ludovicus Pius* among his own Sons in his Life-time, being in a later, though a very antient hand. But the Title of Prince rather than of King, used in the *Sacramentary* I am speaking of, does not seem designed with any critical Meaning, as the excellent Father conceived. In the same Place, *Reges* and *Principes* are used synonymously. And so understood, it will better fit the time of *Charles*,

Charles, whilst he was only *King*, than when he was advanced to the accessional Title of *Emperor*. And therefore much better than the time of his Son *Ludovicus Pius*, who never had any other Stile than that of *Emperor*. The Blessing of the *Paschal Lamb* for the first breaking of the *Quadragesimal Fast*, is in the *Ordo Romanus* published by *Hittorpius*, P. 87. There we first find it. And from thence, most probably, it was derived among the earliest Innovations of the *Gallican Liturgies* in those Parts, because we do not find it among those earliest Offices collected by the worthy Person so often mentioned. Thence it appears to have been a Practice of later Times in these Churches. Yet it could not hold long after the Code of Canons proposed by *Hadrian I.* to *Charles the Great* obtained the Force of Laws. The Apostolical Canon against offering Animals at the Altar (which was included in that Code) was directly against it, and is observed by *Strabo* to have been so, *De reb. Eccl. c. 18.* This therefore seems to have been the Reason, why this Error, as he calls it, was (even when he wrote) in a great measure suppressed. He expresses withall, a great Zeal for extirpating it, if it should at any time return. And very probably that Zeal had its due Effect on the

the Reception of *Hadrian's Code of Canons*, at least as to the *Oblation* of those *Animals* at the *Altar*. But the *private Use* of this *Paschal Lamb* among the *Christians*, though censured, was *not* so soon suppressed. *Micrologus* mentions it as continued by the *Roman Authority* to his time, c. 54. That is, to the time of *Hildebrand*, Pope *Gregory VII.* And that with a *Benediction* also. Yet not, as formerly, *ad Altare*, but *ad Mensam*. Which must be meant of a *Lamb* that was to be eaten; not of the *waxen Lambs* made of the *Wax* of the *consecrated waxen Torches*, which came in afterwards. But this Custom was *not* likely to have been very *antient*. It seems to have had its *Original* from that Favour to the *Jews*, of which *Agobardus* complains in the next Reign of *Ludovicus Pius*, and which therefore, very probably, might have had its *Beginning* under his Father *Charles the Great*. However, notwithstanding these *Approaches* of this *Gallican Sacramentary* to that of *Rome*, to be imputed, in all likelihood, to *Charles the Great*; yet it *still* retains so many *Footsteps* of its *antient* State, as are sufficient to shew by how *slow* degrees the *compleater Uniformity* was at last attained. This very *Sacramentary* retains the *old Custom* of *washing* the *Feet* of Persons newly *baptized*,
here

here still continued, which S. Ambrose S. Ambros. de Sacram. L. III, c. I. observes *not* to have been the Custom of the Church of Rome. The *Procession* of the *Holy Ghost* is here mentioned *only* from the *Father*, p. 313. 376. which is derived from the *Son* as well as the *Father* by the Writers against the Heresy of *Felix* and *Elipandus* in the time of *Charles the Great*. This *Dissent* of the *Gallican Church* seems to have been the *Reason* why Pope *Leo* did not add the *Filioque* in his *Creed* proposed at the *Altar*. The *Use* of the *Creed* it self after the *Gospel* in the *Eucharistical Office*, was very late, long after those times, in the Church of *Rome*, not till the time of the Emperor *Henry I.* if we may believe *Berno Augiensis*. Yet even Father *Mabaillon* observes Mab. de Liturg. Gal. L. I. c. 2. p. 7. it to have been observed in the *Gallick Liturgies*, even under *Charles the Great*. This *Sacramentary* therefore might have been as late as his time, though it had not yet arrived at a compleat *Uniformity* with that of *Rome*.

For my part, I cannot think that ever *Charles the Great* (what *Progress* soever 53. The Missale Gallicanum verus of F. Mabaillon no elder than he made in it) did ever compleatly attain it. The third *antient Office* of this worthy Person's *Collection*, which he calls that time of Ludovicus Pius, wherein his Sons were made Kings.

Missale Gallicanum vetus, has Prayers for Kings together with the Roman Empire, p. 351. This could not fit the former State of that Roman Empire which failed in *Augustulus*. There was not then so good a Correspondence settled between the Barbarous Kings which invaded the Roman Empire and the Emperors then Reigning, as would have made it proper to join both in the same Prayers. *Theoderick* had indeed at first the Consent of the Greek Emperor. But he had not then any Collegue Kings of the same kind. And, in his latter end, he broke off that Correspondence, and made himself a Publick Enemy both to the Greek Emperor and the Roman Senate, when he persecuted the Catholics, because the Greek Emperor denied Liberty of Conscience to those of his own Arian Persuasion. The Empire therefore here spoken of, must be that of Charles himself and his Successors, to whom the Empire of the West was translated after the Constantinopolitan Emperors had been disowned in Italy. And the first time, after this Epoch, that could fit these Prayers, was that of *Ludovicus Pius*, after his Inauguration of his Sons into the Royal Dignity. If so, it will then follow, that the Gallican Church of those

those Parts where that third *Missal* was used, had not, even then, made any further Advances to a *Uniformity* with the *Roman* than what we find there, which is indeed *considerable*, nor altogether unanswerable to the *Endeavours* which had been used by that *Great Prince* for procuring it, but not compleat. Nay deficient in this very particular of *Incensing*, as to what appears by this *Missal*, which, by learned Men, is judged so *antient*. But the *Character*, in which that third *Missal*, and the *Sacramentary* are written, is taken for an Argument of *greater Antiquity* than that of *Charles the Great*. Nor do I deny but that the *Character* may be allowed for a *conjectural Proof* where other things concur, agreeing with it. But where it is alone, it is not so certain as to determine critically. Some Countries, as well as Men, are more tenacious of antiquated Customs than others, so as to keep to old Fashions long after their Disuse by others. And that for several Ages. The Spaniards are particularly famous on that Account. I do not know whether there be any Country which, if critically considered, will not afford Instances of Practices still kept up many Ages after they have been generally laid aside by others. Our *Latin*,

Latin, and French, and our Court-hand, are so with us, no *Standards* of our *Age*, either for *Stile* or *Writing*. And, I remember, the late excellent Dr. *Isaac Vossius* told me how he had been imposed on by Manuscripts in *Italy* of the *Time*, for which I am concerned at present, of *Charles the Great*. And I do not know any who, by his *Travels*, had more *Advantages* for seeing a great *Variety* of Manuscripts, or, by his great *Sagacity*, for judging concerning them, than he. It might have been from a great *Exactness* in copying their *Originals*, if that *Exactness* was then thought *creditable*, and would recommend them to *Judicious Buyers* to considerably more *Advantage* than a plainer and more usual Hand. And so it might do with the *Valuers* of *Antiquity*, as adding *Authority* to *Wares* of this kind. So it did with the *Ptolemies* in Collecting their famous *Library* at *Alexandria*. The fairer Transcripts were returned to those who brought the *Books*, but the *Originals* alone were thought *worthy* of the *Library* for the Use whereof they were transcribed, as *Galen* assures us. Thence the *παλαιὰ ἀντίγραφα*, so often mentioned with *Honour* by the antient *Criticks* and *Grammarians*, who gave *Materials* for our best and

and oldest Scholiasts. But whatever was the *Occasion*, it is sufficient for my purpose, that the *Fact* was indeed so, that later Ages did often imitate the Hands of Ages elder than their own; and that this was particularly the Case of the Age for which I am concerned at present.

However, by this it appears, that the *Uniformity* with the Roman Offices, so much endeavoured by Charles the Great, was notwithstanding not accomplished by him. Not even universally in France it self. *Strabo*, who wrote under his Son *Ludovicus Pius*, limits what he says concerning this Matter, with a *pene*. And he speaks of nothing but the *Cantilena perfectio*, c. 25. which does not concern our present Dispute. Yet it appears, by the Dispute between *Amalarius* and *Agobardus*, concerning the *Antiphonaria*, that particular Churches were not, even then, agreed in them, but still retained their *Singularities*, importing *Difference*, even in *Doctrine* also, which was against the principal *Design* of that Emperor, as it related to the new Disputes raised in the time of Charles by *Felix* and *Elipandus*, and countenanced by the Publick Officers of the Church of Spain at the time of that Dispute. So that, even then, the *Uniformity*

54:
Charles the Great did not suppress the private Gallican Offices, but only introduced the Roman way of Singing into the Austrasian Jurisdiction under Metz.

formity seems to have been rather in the way of Singing, according to the Rules of Art, than in the Materials of what was sung. Yet it was a Change in the Materials, and Uniformity in them, that could give Security against Innovations in Doctrine, as grounded on local publick Liturgies. But that came in by slow degrees, some considerable time after Charles the Great. The Design of Amalarius was fitted to the Church of Metz, as himself acknowledges. That is, as a Standard to those Churches which were likely to be influenced by her Precedent, those of the Austrasian Jurisdiction. That was the Place where Charles the Great carried on the Design of his Father K. Pipin for introducing the Roman way of Singing, as I have already observed from Sigebert in the Year 774, soon after he became possessed of those Parts, which had been formerly under the Government of his Brother Carolomannus. And indeed with Success, as to that Particular of Singing, as is acknowledged by Agobardus, and by Leidradus his immediate Predecessor in the See of Lyons. Leidradus owns it as one of the Charges given him by that great Prince, and acquaints him with the Progress he had made,

Leidrad.
Ep. ad
Carol.
Magn.

made, and to what Proficiency the Singers of his own Church had then attained, by his own Care in having them instructed in that Art. And how much the Archiepiscopal See of Lyons was influenced by the Precedent of Metz, appeared by the Innovations endeavoured at Lyons, that were occasioned by what had been written by Amalarinus relating to the Antiphonarium of Metz, which raised the Dispute between Agobardus and Amalarinus. However, this Uniformity went not much farther at the time of this Dispute. Amalarinus wrote his Book *de Ordine Antiphonarum*, after he had performed his Embassy from the Emperor Lewis to Pope Gregory the IVth, who succeeded in the Papacy A. D. 827. That is the Year wherein Amalarinus is reported by Sigebert to have written his larger Work concerning Ecclesiastical Offices, which is the only one opposed by Agobardus: Probably therefore before Amalarinus had written his lesser Work. Yet even then, whatever Agreement there was in the Singing, Amalarinus himself supposes Differences in the Ecclesiastical Offices of the Country where he was concerned, as well between the Churches themselves, as from that of Rome, *Non solum in ordi-*

ne, verum etiam in verbis, & multitudine Responsoriorum & Antiphonarum quas nos non cantamus. Not only in the Order, but also in the Words, and in the multitude of Responses and Antiphones which we do not sing at all. Among those several Copies collated by him, he found one of Pope Hadrian, dated Ind. VII. that is, A. D. 784. which he ascribes *prisco tempore*, as being about forty Years before the time wherein himself wrote that lesser Work. By that it appeared how little Regard was had to the Roman Office, as it was in the time of Hadrian, by them who had continued the Offices, so different from it, down to the time of Amalarius. But much more so, after so many later Roman Offices sent from Rome to France, after the time of Hadrian, that the foresaid Pope Gregory told Amalarius himself, that he had no Copy of the *Antiphonarium* left, when that was one of the Particulars concerned in the Embassy of Amalarius. Thence it appeared what Diligence had been used by the several Popes for the time being respectively, for introducing their own Form, and with how little Success. Indeed the Changes which had been made, were not made on account of the Authority

thbority of the Roman Precedent obliging
 them to make those Changes, but by the
 Judgment of the local Authority of the
 Place where the Change was made. *Ama-*
larius himself owns, that he corrected se-
 veral things by that Precedent: But owns
 withall, that he had corrected many
 things in the received Offices of the Place,
 by that only Roman Copy, which he
 seems to have known, of *Hadrian*. But
 in other Instances he freely owns, that he
 thought the Gallican Offices righter than
 the Roman. Those he must, undoubt-
 edly, have left as he found them, which
 he could not have done, if he had
 thought himself obliged by the Roman
 Precedent. So also *Agobardus* himself
 corrected the Offices of his own Church
 of *Lyons* by his own Authority, with-
 out any regard to the Office of *Hadrian*
 pretended by *Amialarius*, or of any other
 Papal Authority, or of any Obligation to
 regard them. They very well knew,
 that *Gregory the Great* left *Augustine* at
 liberty not to use the Roman Offices to
 which he had been educated when he
 was in Britain. So quickly was the De-
 sign of *Charles* and *Hadrian* forgotten,
 of an Uniformity in the Materials of the
 Publick Offices. The Musick was that
 which

Agobard.
 de concord.
 Antiphon.
 p. 3, 8.

which was principally intended by those two great Authorities. Yet (though *Agobardus* was content to keep that as he found it already settled by his Predecessor *Leidradus*) he freely gives his Opinion against its being too artificial, and looks on it as beneath the Dignity of the higher Orders of the Clergy, and would have it confined to the Sub-deacons or those below them, and produces a Testimony of Gregory the Great denouncing an Anathema if any Deacon, or of those in Orders, who served at the Altar, should be employed on so mean an Office. The Reverend Father *Mabailon* therefore, is much mistaken when he thinks the Gallican Offices universally suppressed, in the time of Charles the Great, by his Introduction of the Gregorian Sacramentary.

55.

The Roman Office not the same in all things as it was in the time of Gregory the Great,

Nor is it easy now to judge of the Condition of the Roman Sacramentary in the time of Gregory the Great, being liable to so many Changes of succeeding Popes. Especially considering how difficult it is to prove the Age of every individual Manuscript, where nothing is, in the Copy of the Age of *Agobardus*, or in that published by *Monardus*. Incensing not brought into the Austrasian Offices before the time of *Ludovicus Pius*, after Charles the Great.

OR

or can be, pretended, but the Character wherein it was written. That published by Menardus, which is commonly ascribed to S. Gregory, has already been convicted of a much later Age by the learned Baluzius, from its express mention of the Empire of the Franks. And the Observation of Agobardus, that the Roman Sacramentary then was against the Worship of Images, is a further Proof that the Sacramentary was otherwise at that time than it is now. Yet more agreeable then to the Mind of S. Gregory, as appears from his Epistle to Serenus Massiliensis on that Subject of Images. Nor is it to be thought strange that an antient Manuscript (of an uncertain Age) of the Roman Office should be changed from the Mind of S. Gregory. Agobardus himself was urged with the Authority of S. Gregory for the singing of Deacons. In all likelihood from the State of the Roman Sacramentary in the time of Agobardus, most certainly nearer the Age of S. Gregory than the Manuscript followed by Menardus. Yet Agobardus proved the quite contrary to have been the Sense of S. Gregory from the express Words of that Father in an Epistle unquestionably written by him. Yet

I do

Baluz. Not.
ad Ago-
bard. de
Imagin.

n. 30. p. 90.

* Baluz.
Not. ad
Agobard.
de Relig.
tip. c. 15.
p. 145.

* Baluz.
Not. ad
Agobard.
de Ref. An.
tiph. c. 15.
p. 142.

I do not therefore think that *Agobardus* did therefore deny *S. Gregory* to have reformed and digested the *Roman Sacramentary*, as it was in his own Age; or that he thought the then present *Sacramentary* corrupted, because it was not, in every particular, agreeable to the private Sentiments of *S. Gregory*, by whom it had been formerly adjusted, as the same excellent * Person reasons. No more than our present *English Liturgy* is corrupted in all the Alterations made in it, on provisional Occasions, by an Authority equal to that by which it was undoubtedly framed in the time of *K. Edward the VIth*. Yet the Distance was greater between *Gregory the Great* and *Agobardus*, than between our present Offices and those which were used at the beginning of the Reformation. The Change therefore might have been as great in that lesser Distance as in ours. The rather so, because the Pope, for the time being, had undoubtedly a greater Power for changing the Publick Offices than is allowed to our Synods since the Restraints of the Act of *Præmunire*. No *Roman Sacramentary* therefore can prove the Sense of *S. Gregory*, but one of the Age of *S. Gregory*. Nor can his personal Sense,
of

of any *Particulars*, be *known*, but by such a *coeval Copy*, by which it may be known, what was from *his*, and what was *changed* by a *later*, though a *sufficient Authority*. Nor has such a one appeared as yet, if that of *Menardus* be justly doubted of. Thus it will be also impossible to know, whether the *original Gregorian Sacramentary* was ever received in *France*; or to know what *Particulars* were received from it while it is so impossible to *distinguish* them from the *local Peculiarities* introduced by the *Prudence* of the *local Governours* for the time *being*. Yet I deny not, but that *Changes* were made in the *Gallican Offices* of those *Times* in Compliance with those of *Rome*. On the contrary, I have given *Instances* of some that were so. But I believe that there is sufficient Reason to believe that this *Particular* of *Incense* was not *then* received in the *Gallican Churches* of the *Austrasian District*, how common soever it were in the *Roman Offices* of that same *Age*; and therefore that the *whole Roman Offices* of those *Times* were *not* received in *gross* in those same *Churches*, which *general Reception* would, by a necessary *Consequence*, have introduced it unavoidably.

ably. I must not too much enlarge for proving this at present, but shall content my self with what appears from these *Disputes* between *Agobardus* and *Amalarinus*. * *Amalarinus* therefore had observed two Altars among the *Jews*: *unum Thymiamatis, alterum Holocausti*; the one of Incense, the other of the whole Burnt offering: adding withall, *Ita sunt duo sacrificia sanctæ Ecclesiæ*, So there are two Sacrifices of the Holy Church. This † *Agobardus* opposes with those Testimonies of the Fathers which acknowledge no more than one Altar, as allowing no other Christian Sacrifice but that of the Eucharist. Yet they who used Incense allowed it the proper Name of a Sacrifice among the Christians, as this Passage of *Amalarinus* (against which part of it *Agobardus* himself makes no Exception) does among the *Jews*. And with very good Reason, even in the Popular received Notion of the Word, as it signifies an Oblation that is destroyed by its being offered. Yet *Agobardus* takes no notice of any such sensible consumptive Oblation as offered on that Christian Altar of Incense, as it had been very natural for him to have done if he had known of any in those Parts where he was

* De Eccl.
Off. L. III.
c. 13.

† Adv.
Amalar.
c. 13. p. 114.

was concerned. He only insists on the very Pretence of a *second Altar* under the Gospel, distinct from the *Communion Table*, as *invidious* and *derogatory* to the *Dignity* of the *Eucharistical Sacrifice*, which was to supply the *Office*, and to answer the *Ends*, of all the *Legal Sacrifices*. Nor indeed had *Amalaricus* given him any *Occasion* to mention any *second Sacrifice* that was *material* and *sensible* relating to that *other Altar*. When he speaks of the *Sacrifice* concerned in the *Altar*, which answered the *Jewish Altar* of *Incense*, he mentions none but such as were *mystical*, and perfectly agreeable to the *mystical Israelitism* of the *new Peculium*: the *Oblation* of our *Selves*, and that of our *Prayers*, which is allowed by the severest *Condemners* of the other *literal Incense*. Had he known of any *Oblation* of *Frankincense* in the Churches subject to the *Jurisdiction* or *Authority* of *Metz*, of the *Austrasian District*; we might here have expected *moral Observations* upon the *Nature* of *Frankincense* as imposed under that *Symbol*, according to the *Custom* of this *Author*, in this same *Work*, on the *like*, and *less*, *Occasions*. Such he has *not* where he mentions *Incense* as used in the *Roman Office*,

L. I. c. 31. not finding his own Church concerned in it, nor the Roman Office. But it does not appear from the Reasonings of either of these Adversaries, that this Practice of offering Frankincense had as yet gained any footing in this Gallican Province. The Collection of Canons sent by Hadrian to Charles the Great, among which the Fifty Apostolical Canons, and among them, that relating to Incense had a place, do not appear to have been ratified by any Legal Reception that might oblige Subjects to receive any Custom unknown before, on their Authority. There were indeed, in the time of Agobardus, some who questioned the antient Gallican Canons, because they wanted a Confirmation of the later Popes. Elsewhere he mentions those who required for their Ratification the Approbation either of Popes or Emperors, according to the Form of the Capitulars confirmed by Imperial Authority. As if Ecclesiastical Authority could not be validly exercised but by the Fashions of their own Age. But Agobardus himself asserts, in both Places, the Right of the old Canons by the Authority of the Synods wherein they were made, without any such novel Confirmation. However,

Reception

Agobard.
adv. Leg.
Gundob.
n. 12.

De Dispensat.
n. 20.
p. 288.

N. 5.

Reception is now the greatest Sanction in the Gallican Church, without which neither Pontifical Decretals, nor Imperial Capitulars, can pretend to have the Force of Laws. And this depends on the Sense of the local Governors, which have always been allowed a Share in Determinations relating only to Practice, at least with relation to their own respective Districts. Nor does it, that I know of, appear by any Monuments of this Age, that this Practice was then received in this Part of France. The most favourable Prospect towards receiving it in this Age, was, if I mistake not, when the farther Advances were made towards the Reception of Dionysius the Areopagite as a Patron of the whole Gallican Nation, when the pretended Works of that Apostolical Person were brought from Greece as a Present to Ludovicus Pius. Those Works made the Appearance of another Apostolical Authority for this Practice of offering *Frankincense*, as an addeffory Proof to what was better known in the West before, of that Canon in the Collection of Dionysius Exiguus, which supposed That Practice, and was likewise taken for Apostolical. The rather so, because a Vision of Pope Stephen III. wherein that same

Apostolical Dionysius had been represented as performing that *Ecclesiastical Ministry* of offering Incense in his own Person, had introduced this same Practice into the *Parisian District* so long before. None can wonder at this, who considers how much those *Legendary Visions* were then believed, and with what Zeal and Eagerness Practices thus recommended were then embraced. They could not but take it for a great *Endearment* to that Saint himself if they imitated him in what he had made himself a *Precedent*, if that Pope himself might be believed; and what he had also recommended to them by his written Works, if they had been really his, as was commonly pretended, and generally believed, in that credulous Age. Criticism was then less usual than it is now, among even our *Adversaries* of the *Roman Communion*. And it was withall discountenanced and over-ruled by the *Generality* of them who were then taken for the greatest *Authorities*. I doubt not but that the like Discoveries might be made in other *Occidental Churches* out of Italy, if their antient *Manuscript Offices*, whose Time might be known, had been enquired and published with the like Diligence as that of the learned Person so often

mentioned. Particularly the great *Variety* of *Offices* among us, appearing even in *later Ages*, shew how little the *Pope's Authority* signified among us then, *Uniformity* being the *first*, and most plausible, Pretence for introducing the *Innovations* of the *Romanists*. But that, as it is a Task too great for me, so it is a *Digression* too large for my present *Design* in answering what you have proposed on this Argument. Having therefore trespassed further than either you or my self expected when I undertook it, I add no more, but to crave your *Pardon*, and to remain

Shobdenbrook,

Sept. 8. 1709.

Your hearty, though

unknown, Wellwisher,

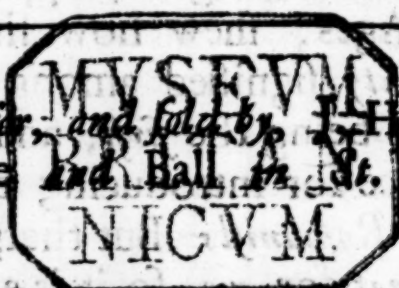
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